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CSSR Observers View Military Exercises in FRG

LD0609174788 Prague CTK in English
1639 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 6—Joint military exercises of the USA, West Germany, Canada, France, and Denmark "certain challenge 88" started on the West German territory today and will last till September 26, West German authorities announced.

In accord with the Stockholm Conference document on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe Czechoslovak observers will participate in the exercise.

Comparison of CSSR Delegate's Geneva Speech

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 August on page 1 carries a 280-word CTK Geneva dispatch, entitled "Czechoslovak Proposal," on Czechoslovak delegate Milos Vejvoda's speech at the 25 August plenary session of the conference on disarmament. This item has been compared with the CTK English version published in the 30 August East Europe Daily Report, page 1, and found to be identical, which permits the following fills:

Paragraph one, sentence one reads in PRAVDA: pointed out the fact that in the whole (supplying indistinct words);

Paragraph three, sentence three reads in PRAVDA: but reality is different, he said and (supplying indistinct word).

Japanese Business Delegation Arrives for Talks
AU3008175388 Sofia BTA in English
1723 GMT 30 Aug 88

["Japanese Businessmen Interested in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—A 40-member Japanese delegation arrived in Bulgaria. It includes representatives of big trading and industrial firms, banks, credit and insurance companies.

The head of the delegation, Mr. Michia Matsukawa, pointed out that initially 20 people were to join the delegation, but as much more firms were interested in sending their representatives to Bulgaria, the number of its members doubled.

Mr. Petko Danchev, chairman of the Bulgarian side at the Bulgaro-Japanese Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation and chairman of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, welcomed the Japanese delegation on behalf of the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian business circles, emphasizing that the economic dialogue will contribute to the advancement of bilateral relations.

Representatives of the Bulgarian business circles proposed some concrete cooperation projects.

The Japanese side expressed satisfaction over Bulgaria's wish to advance cooperation and asked for information about future plans and projects.

The Japanese businessmen were especially interested in the economic reform in Bulgaria, and above all in the principle of self-management, in the setting up of joint ventures, in the financing and other facilities, which will promote the development of foreign economic relations and attract foreign investments.

During their 2-day stay in Bulgaria, the Japanese guests will meet top-ranking officials of a number of Bulgarian ministries and managers of various economic organizations in order to discuss in detail matters of mutual interest.

Zhivkov Receives Delegation
AU3108181988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] In the Eksinovgrad Residence in Varna today, State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov received a Japanese business delegation consisting of leaders of large Japanese banks, trading firms, and insurance companies. The delegation is paying a brief working visit to Bulgaria.

The guests were briefed on the reforms in depth that are being carried out in all spheres of social and economic life in Bulgaria and on the new aims and tasks facing the Bulgarian economy under the conditions of contemporary world trends and realities. It was emphasized that real preconditions are being created for expanding economic and technological cooperation between the two countries, and between Bulgarian organizations and Japanese firms.

The unanimous view was expressed that the results of the present visit by the Japanese economic delegation are of great importance for forming a common platform to speedily create conditions for stimulating trading and economic links.

The leader of the delegation, Michia Matsukawa, expressed the desire and the concrete intention of Japanese business, with the support of the Japanese Government, to make efficient use of the new opportunities for economic intercourse.

The friendly talks were attended by Petko Danchev, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgarian-Japanese Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation and chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association;" Dimitur Popov, chairman of Varna Oblast People's Council; and the two countries' ambassadors, Petur Bashikarov and Masami Tanida.

Yordanov Departs for Visit to Japan 4 Sep
AU0409181788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] On 4 September Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, departed for Japan, where he will make an official visit. Masami Tanida, Japanese ambassador to Bulgaria, was among those who saw him off at Sofia airport.

Atanasov-Led Delegation Departs for DPRK 6 Sep
AU0609194988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1930 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] On 6 September a Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Comrade Georgi Atanasov departed for the DPRK, where it will take part in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of founding the DPRK.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet SRV Leaders on Anniversary
AU0509140288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State, and Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and all Bulgarian people we send the Vietnamese Communists, the fraternal Vietnamese people, and you personally most cordial greetings on the 43d anniversary of SRV independence.

As a result of the victory of the August Revolution and under the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party your people broke the chains of colonial oppression and feudalism, and created the first state of workers and peasants in Southeast Asia. The struggle of the Vietnamese Communists and patriots against foreign aggression, and for independence, free development, and unification of the motherland, evoked admiration and respect throughout the world.

Following the behest of the great son of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh, and in fraternal cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the Vietnamese Communists and working people are confidently marching along the road of socialist construction. The historical decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, which outlined the course toward decisively renewing all spheres of public life, became a reliable landmark on the road of socialist construction.

The Bulgarian people sincerely rejoice with the successes of the Vietnamese working people in constructing socialism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria totally supports the SRV constructive foreign policy, aimed at turning Southeast Asia into a region of peace, security, and goodneighborly cooperation.

With deep satisfaction we note the ascending development and strengthening of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, countries, and nations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

We wish you, dear comrades, new successes along the road of renewal, peace, and comprehensive progress of the fraternal Vietnamese people.

Tanchev Meets Sun Qimeng, PRC Delegation

AU0709080388 Sofia BTA in English
2016 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received the delegation of the China Democratic National Construction Association Party headed by the chairman of the association Mr. Sun Qimeng, deputy chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The delegation includes Mr. Feng Kesui, [name as received] secretary general of the Democratic National Construction Association and member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council.

The two sides discussed the opportunities for development of the friendly relations between the two parties which can contribute to the broadening of the political, economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and China.

The great importance of the meetings between Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Zhao Ziyang, which opened new period in the Bulgaro-Chinese relations, raised to a higher level the friendship and cooperation between the two countries, was noted.

The guest expressed interest in the new model of construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party spoke of the importance of the unity of action of the BCP and the Agrarian Party as a factor for the advance of Bulgaria. He dwelled on the participation of the Agrarian Party in the restructuring and especially in the implementation of the new agrarian policy. Mr. Petur Tanchev noted that the international activity of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party is oriented towards development of cooperation, toward strengthening of peace and consolidation of the new political thinking.

Mr. Sun Qimeng assessed highly the achievements in the dynamic socioeconomic development of Bulgaria, her experience in the socialist construction of the villages. He spoke of the reforms realized in China and of the participation of the association in the updating of the country.

Yotov Receives Song Defu, PRC Youth Group

AU3008165088 Sofia BTA in English
1632 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—On August 29 Mr. Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, met at the Central Committee of the CC of the BCP a delegation of the CC of the Communist Youth League of China, led by Mr. Song Defu, first secretary of the CC of the League.

At the meeting the Chinese delegation was acquainted with the guidelines of the restructuring under way in all spheres of social life in Bulgaria under the leadership of the BCP.

Yotov Receives Cambodian KPRP Delegation

AU0309171388 Sofia BTA in English
1613 GMT 3 Sep 88

["Sharing the BCP Experience"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—At the invitation of the CC of the BCP, visiting Bulgaria was a delegation of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's

Revolutionary Party (KPRP), led by Mr Sar Kheng, candidate member of the Politburo and member of the Secretariat of the CC of the KPRP.

The Kampuchean delegation was familiarized with the achievements of Bulgaria in her socio-economic development and with the BCP work in fulfilment of the resolutions of its 13th Congress and National Conference.

The Kampuchean guests were received by Mr Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. They exchanged information on the work of the two parties and countries and views on the further promotion of bilateral ties.

Velichko Velichkov Appointed Envoy to U.S.
AU3108171788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] The State Council relieves Stoyan Iliev Zhulev from the post of Bulgarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States, and appoints to this post Velichko Filipov Velichkov, hitherto first deputy minister of transportation.

Khristov-Led Delegation Returns From Zambia
AU2908131088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] The BCP delegation led by Emil Khristov, BCP Central Committee secretary, returned to Bulgaria on 27 August. The delegation took part in the 10th Conference of Zambia's United National Independence Party. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front Party the delegation also visited the Republic of Zambia.

At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary.

Reporters Investigate Food Supply Shortfall
AU0609154988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Aug 88 p 4

[Article by a RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporters' team: "Unequal Dialogue Between Tradesmen and Customers"]

[Summary] "There should be some food on our table every day. As a result of this, if not every day, then at least every two or three days, we have to face the tradesmen, who represent the intermediate link between producers and customers. This is a very frequent, but unfortunately, unequal dialogue, at least for the time being. It is also brief, because usually our questions are answered in two words: 'We have' or 'we have not.'"

In the Sofia Central Market Hall, where we conducted one of our investigations, large signs over the counters indicate the numerous varieties of sausages, cheeses, and dairy products, but hardly a single variety is actually available. The same applies to the egg, meat, and other food departments.

"Unfortunately, this is the principle prevailing in our domestic trade sector. It is based on the sentence: 'We will receive this and that,' instead of: 'Make your choice.' "Nevertheless, numerous citizens, not only from Sofia, but also from the provinces, are crowding the market hall, because it is somewhat better supplied than other food stores, and "you might still get hold of something," as people say. The supply situation in other stores and supermarkets of the capital is even worse, despite the fact that Sofia is treated on a priority basis, as far as food supplies are concerned.

There are countries in which the principle of "equal trade" prevails, meaning that whatever goods are available in the capital can also be found in other, remote places of the country. Bulgaria, however, is still far from "equal trade", as we found out in the various food stores we inspected in the towns of Lovech, Stara Zagora, Sliven, Vratsa, Pazardzhik, Silistra, and in smaller communities. Shortage of personnel and technical shortcomings in the freezing equipment also exist in numerous stores and supermarkets, which makes supplying the population even more difficult. We looked at the situation of available goods, or the shortage of foodstuffs in various stores and supermarkets. The supply problem is by no means new. Nevertheless, we should examine the reasons for the present food supply situation in Bulgaria and in this connection we interviewed several people who are directly concerned with these problems. We talked to several functionaries of central food supply organizations and the Ministry of the Economy and Planning. They pointed out that methods for solving the problems in the food supply sector exist.

"We are also convinced that such methods exist. The important thing is that they should be found promptly." In order to change the situation in the dialogue between tradesmen and customers, the line between merchandise producers and consumers should become increasingly shorter. As a result of this, the responsibility for the shortage in food supplies will be clearly pinpointed.

Supreme Court Upholds Dissident's Conviction

AU0209111588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Aug 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Punishment for Subversive Activity"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Supreme Court of the Slovak SR discussed the criminal charge against defendant Ivan Polansky, an employee of the ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] national enterprise in Dubnica nad Vahou, in Bratislava yesterday.

Due to a ruling of the Banska Bystrica Regional Court, the defendant had been found guilty of the criminal offense of subversion against the Republic, according to Article 98, Paragraphs 1 and 2, Letter b) of the Criminal Code. From at least 1984 to November 1987, he wrote in his apartment in Nova Dubnica and at his place of work, and partially duplicated, various illegal printed materials—chiefly magazines, each consisting of at least 500 copies—which he personally or with the help of other persons circulated among the citizens of Trencin, Povazska Bystrica, and Zilina Districts, as well as other localities of the Slovak SR. In addition to unobjectionable articles with religious themes, this printed matter and these magazines also contained articles and statements propagating the clerico-fascist movement and the so-called Slovak state and glorifying their representatives. They were also directed against the CPCZ and its leading role, against the president and other CSSR representatives, against the Soviet Union, and against education and guidance in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world view. These materials additionally contained articles sowing discord between Slovaks and Czechs, calling for a boycott of elections, defaming security organs and the judiciary, and belittling their authority.

Acting out of hostility, the defendant thus carried out larger-scale subversive activity against the socialist society and the state system of the Republic and against the territorial integrity of our state and its international interests. The regional court sentenced the defendant for this activity to 4 years of deprivation of freedom and assigned him to the first correctional group. At the same time, in accordance with Article 55, Paragraph 1, Letters a) and b) of the Criminal Code, it ruled that all materials that were used and designed to commit this criminal activity be forfeited.

The defendant and his wife appealed against the verdict.

The Supreme Court of the Slovak SR rejected their appeal as unfounded, and the verdict of the regional court has thereby assumed legal validity.

Slovak Catholics Petition Husak

AU0709080788 Paris AFP in English 0756 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, Sept 7 (AFP)—Nearly 4,000 Catholics in Slovakia, in the east of the country, have sent a petition to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak protesting against the jailing of Slovak Catholic activist Ivan Polansky, Catholic sources here said Tuesday.

Mr. Polansky was sentenced on appeal to four years in jail on August 30 for subversion against the socialist state.

Since 1984, he had been publishing religious tracts whose political content was deemed unacceptable by the authorities.

The petitioners said they were "indignant" at the sentence, saying it was a vestige of the old way of thinking.

Austrian Daily Reports on Samizdat Publications

AU2908114788 Vienna KURIER in German 29 Aug 88 p 3

["D.V." report: "Samizdat Literature Is Flourishing"; all names of newspapers except LIDOVE NOVINY published in German]

[Text] In spite of continuing reprisals by the authorities, in the CSSR, too, the faint breeze of glasnost from Moscow has caused a quiet flourishing of samizdat literature and the establishment of some independent groups. The range is varied and multifaceted.

There is, for instance, the "Democratic Initiative," which was founded mainly by young people, and the "Independent Peace Association," whose remote goal is the "demilitarization" of society and whose immediate goal is the introduction of an alternative civilian service. This association has also been publishing a samizdat bulletin since May 1988,

REVOLVER REVIEW, which is also published illegally, is extremely popular among young people, and its ninth issue contains 248 pages.

Young people and alternative groups are addressed by the samizdat publications JAZZ STOP and WATCH TOWER and a samizdat magazine that has been provocatively named NEW JUNK.

The independent "Ecological Initiative," which was founded in Prague and also publishes its own periodical paper (ECOLOGICAL BULLETIN), deals with the long-neglected topic of environmental protection. This year its representatives participated in a joint seminar in Poland.

Cooperation with dissidents and opposition members from other countries, which has intensified greatly, is conspicuous. There is a BULLETIN OF CZECHOSLOVAK-POLISH SOLIDARITY, while the Charter 77 civil rights movement and the Polish trade union have jointly published a calendar. The Estonian writer Arvo Valton was interviewed by the samzidat literary paper LIDOVE NOVINY.

This confusing variety must not, however, lead to incorrect conclusions. The regime again and again pounces, arrests people, confiscates writings, and breaks up exhibitions by nonconformist artists or rock groups, which take place—with increasing frequency—in rural areas.

On 30 August, for instance, Ivan Polansky, a 52-year-old Slovak Catholic who suffers from a severe heart condition, will face trial. He has filed an appeal against the 4 years in prison to which he has already been sentenced for distributing religious literature.

Dissidents Announce Forum on National History

AU0709071188 Paris AFP in English
0222 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, Sept 7 (AFP)—Czechoslovak dissident groups on Tuesday announced they would hold an international symposium on the country's history here in November.

The five opposition movements behind the "informal and independent" symposium said in a statement the theme would be "Czechoslovakia and European events: 1918-1988."

Vaclav Havel, member of the Charter 77 movement which is involved in the forum, said 1988 was an appropriate year for such an event as several anniversaries fall this year—the founding of Czechoslovakia in 1918, Hitler's invasion of 1938, the communist takeover in 1948 and the Prague Spring of 1968.

The statement said: "The common denominator in these key events in our country's history is that they were never of a purely Czechoslovak character, but represented major landmarks for the history of all Europe."

The organisers had invited intellectuals from home and abroad to the forum, the statement said.

Heavy Metal Band at Cultural Center Criticized

AU3108141188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Aug 88 p 5

[Ladislav Urban article: "Cult of Brute Force and Death. Why?"]

[Excerpts] Long-haired fanatics leaping around to the deranged noise of vibrating loudspeakers accompanied the antics of those in the heavy-metal band—the band members wore torn jeans and cartridge belts around their hips—with insane roars. Fists clenched threateningly were thrust up against the evening sky. The sound of "Heil! Heil! Heil!" [German words used] resounded through the valley of the open-air arena. [passage omitted] Someone on the stage shouted: "Ku Klux Klan!"

I unwittingly looked around to see whether crosses would be set on fire and a manhunt against blacks would begin. [passage omitted]

This is not the atmosphere of a gathering of punks or skinheads in West Germany. It took place at a concert by the lesser-known Prague amateur band Toerr, which performed in Bratislava on 18 August. [passage omitted]

The recurring themes of Toerr's songs are death, graves, corpses, hopelessness, loneliness, pessimism, and passive expectation. In general, the songs' lyrics feature the terminology of dubious and banned religious sects. In its song "Bad Dream," Toerr sings: "Light is shining through a crevice in my grave. I feel sin and evil when I go to bed at night. Zombies, nuclear rain, Sabbath witches, and streams of blood lie all around me!" What is the sense of this?

"It is meant to be a protest against all the abuses in our society," Milan Hava, the band's leader, contends.

The commission of the Prague Cultural Center, whose test auditions Toerr successfully passed in November, apparently does not mind the fact that the band's lyrics are too gloomy and its music rather monotonous, and only at times expressive. Neither did the municipal district national committee in Prague-10, which issued the decree that authorizes Toerr to give concerts independently, find anything offensive with the band's repertoire. The chief program adviser of the Bratislava Park of Culture and Repose, who is directly responsible for the ideological content of the songs of performing groups, and the municipal district national committee in Bratislava-1, which allowed Toerr to play in the open-air arena, also had no objections.

This is incomprehensible formalism on the part of four institutions.

Bratislava inhabitants returning from work on 18 August in the evening saw about 10 Toerr fans at the trolley station near the open-air arena. They were unashamedly urinating on the sidewalk. [passage omitted] That, too, appears to be a sign of protest against abuses in our society.

Youth, 'Not Just Good or Bad', Need Guidance

AU0509140088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Sep 88 p 1

[Editorial: "They Are Not Just Good or Bad"]

[Excerpts] Our Communist Party regards as one of its most important tasks the preparation of the young generation for life and work in the socialist society. It

sees in the young generation an important social force, one on which it relies in tackling the important reforms upon which society has embarked. [passage omitted]

There is a rather deep-rooted black-and-white notion that there are two sorts of young people—good and bad. Reality is much more diverse and, also, more complicated than that. There are also such 'indifferent' young people who do not yet know where to go, which side to take, young people who are so unstable and immature [nehotovy] that, under certain circumstances, they can come under the sway of an honest and upright person just as under that of a political adventurer; are able, in the anonymity of a crowd, to behave like thugs—in a football stadium just as in a city square; and, just for the fun of it, allow themselves to be carried away by shouting slogans, the contents of which they frequently do not even properly understand. Yes, we are referring also to the events that took place in Prague on 21 August, events that were spoken about on television and written about in the press, albeit laconically. In the "Letters to the Editor" column this week, we quoted the statements of several labor collectives that clearly condemned these acts.

Many people in our country still remember the days and months of chaos, unrest, and riots in the years of crisis and do not wish anyone to evoke such an atmosphere in our country again. The calls for strict measures are therefore warranted. Yes, we do have the legal means for public order to be maintained everywhere....

Yes, we do.... But society cannot content itself just with being able to employ warranted and effective means of power against rioters. Its strength must make its impact felt long before that—it must wage a struggle for the soul of the young person; help him find the correct road; show him which values we regard highly, and why; and openly discuss with him all problems, every issue. There are no taboo questions, there are no blank spots in our history.

Let us be candid and admit that, regrettably, the care of young people in some schools, vocational training centers, and also in enterprises is insufficient and one-sided: They content themselves with results at school and with professional qualifications but know little about the attitudes of young people and underestimate education toward citizenship in the widest sense of the word.

There is also little patience for hearing a view that differs from our own, little courage to engage in polemics, and little energy to assert the correct view, a view that is not backed by strong words, empty cliches, and quotes torn out of context, but rather one in which the first fiddle is played by truthful arguments. Some people are afraid of undergoing such a dialogue with youth. There are functionaries at various levels of our public life who have never in their lives had even one discussion with young people. True, they lectured to them, but they did not speak to them face-to-face. [passage omitted]

We must get accustomed to engaging in a continuous civic dialogue, which must include dialogue with young people. The times in which we live are not easy, for we must come to terms with many problems, shed some notions that are naive or one-sided, and view matters in new contexts. [passage omitted]

Above all else, let us show young people specifically what makes our time revolutionary, and let us help them find an orientation. Despite all its problems and difficulties, our society is not retreating before complications. It is instead creatively exploring and finding new roads toward a comprehensive development of socialism, toward a comprehensive development of man.

Let us give young people a reason to become fully involved in favor of reforms. Let us give them an opportunity to take part to the best of their powers and abilities—specifically at their workplace, together with the older generation—in overcoming everything that delays further social development and everything that we dislike and want to change. [passage omitted] Let them build the house in which they will live. [passage omitted]

We would simply be committing a sin if we did not "fight" for the soul of every young person. And, as it concerns us, communists—we shall not live up to our mission as party members if we do not take permanent and systematic care of the young generation. This definitely does not concern just the creation of good material conditions for it—that is not enough. We must speak with young people, discuss things with them, and even argue with them if necessary. We must know their views and—by setting a personal example, which is no less important—guide them toward honest deeds.

Pilot Accused of Illegally Taking Plane Abroad

LD0509152788 Prague CTK in English
1426 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 5 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak pilot, who alleged last week that he had been forced by two masked men under the threat of violence to fly them in his sports plane to Austria, has been charged with illegally taking an aircraft abroad and abetting in the criminal act of leaving the Republic.

It was found out in an investigation that J.C. [initials as received] from Bratislava, a 36-year-old pilot in the para-military Svazarm Air Club in Holic, had knowingly taken aboard his 44-year-old brother, his six-year-old son and a 39-year-old woman, all from Plzen, flew with them without permission across the border and landed in a field near the village of Grossmussbach in neighbouring Austria.

After their disembarkation he returned to his home port and reported a hijack.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted in absentia against the man and woman for complicity in the same criminal acts as J.C.

'Unsatisfactory' State of Health Deplored

AU3008114388 Prague PRACE Weekend Supplement in Czech 28 Aug 88 p 1

[Jiri Zavozda article: "How To Achieve Longevity"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The situation of our state of health is nothing to boast about. [passage omitted] In the world table of cardiovascular diseases listed as the cause of death, we, for example, occupy second to sixth place. Cardiovascular diseases have long been the number one cause of death in our country. [passage omitted]

Statistical tables show that, as recently as the mid-sixties, our population's state of health was fully comparable with that of the most advanced industrial countries. We have, however, lost this standing: The decline in the infant mortality rate is slow (from 19.2 per thousand in 1970 to 12.3 per thousand in 1985, compared with less than 10 per thousand in advanced countries).

The average longevity of both men and women is stagnating. Middle-aged men, in particular, are dying more and more often. The stronger sex has an average life expectancy of 67.3 years in our country, while the fair sex has an average life expectancy of 73.9 years. This is between 4 and 7 years less than the average life expectancy in other industrially advanced countries.

(In this connection it is not uninteresting to take a look at the increments in average life expectancy between 1960 and 1985: Average life expectancy in the CSSR increased by 0.1 to 70.5 years; in the FRG by 5.3 to 75.0 years; in France by 4.8 to 75.9 years; in the United States by 4.4 to 74.7 years; and in Hungary by 2.3 to 69.7 years. The fact is that [of all these countries] the CSSR has experienced the lowest increase in average longevity. We have managed to drop to 25th place among the 28 European countries studied. We have been overtaken by some 20 developing countries and rank approximately 50th in the world "league" table.)

The illness rate of women has increased. One in three pregnancies can be designated as high-risk pregnancies.

The sickness rate and work disability on account of diseases of the digestive, motor, and nervous systems is growing.

Finally, there is an unfavorable trend in cardiovascular and oncological diseases. One in two Czechoslovaks dies of cardiovascular diseases and one in four of malignant tumors. [passage omitted]

There are several causes for this unsatisfactory state of health—the steadily deteriorating state of the environment, the very often unsuitable working environment, the poor composition and often also poor quality of food, lack of movement, which applies virtually to all age groups, and, last but not least, our own inadequate care of our health.

To this we must add the not exactly world-class endowment of our health care system and our hospitals with top technology; problems with pharmaceuticals and medical supplies; the great amount of paperwork that distracts physicians from their work; the feminization of health care with all the consequences that this involves; and the lower percentage of gross national income spent on health care compared to industrially advanced countries. [passage omitted]

Every year, 28 billion cigarettes are consumed in our country. Each person drinks an average of 140.1 liters of beer, 15.5 liters of wine, and 8.2 liters of spirits and distillates. We are also big eaters. Our energy consumption has climbed to 12,900 kilojoules, which far exceeds the recommended intake. [passage omitted] Moreover, fats account for much too large a percentage of our diet. [passage omitted]

Those who have read the above lines may ask: What things can I influence, and what is beyond my power? Some experts contend that we can influence virtually everything. [passage omitted] True, some things, such as improving the environment, will take time. [passage omitted] However, even now we must honestly strive for such an improvement. It is also necessary that the new laws provide for greater responsibility of individuals, as well as production organizations, for the health of employees. One cannot put employees' health at risk ad infinitum in the pursuit of momentary economic advantages. [passage omitted] It is in the working people's interest that they work in an environment that does not endanger their health, that they avoid last-minute rush work, and that they do not have to spend Saturdays and Sundays making up for arrears caused by bad labor organization.

In connection with the required change of diet, it is necessary that shops provide enough good-quality food and that they offer the correct food from the standpoint of healthy nutrition. [passage omitted]

People in the housing estates and in city centers must be provided with more opportunities to engage in sports and to spend their free time actively and outdoors. In short, it is necessary not to content oneself with the proclamation of slogans but rather to start creating conditions for a healthy way of life. This is the only way to catch up. These are tasks which, for objective reasons, cannot be mastered by individuals but only by society in its entirety. [passage omitted]

Jakes Addresses People's Militia Meeting

AU0409151388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Appreciation of the People's Militia Work"]

[Excerpts] Vyskov—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and commander in chief of the CSSR People's Militia, paid a visit to the educational facility of the People's Militia attached to the Ground Forces Military College, named after Army General Ludvik Svoboda, three-time Hero of the CSSR and Hero of the Soviet Union, in Vyskov on Tuesday [30 August]. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon Milos Jakes attended a meeting of leading People's Militia functionaries on military training and the beginning of the new training year. [passage omitted]

Addressing the meeting, Comrade Milos Jakes conveyed to it greetings from the CPCZ Presidium and the entire Central Committee. He praised the work of the commanders and all members of the People's Militia, which ties with the historical revolutionary traditions of February 1948. "The party regards the People's Militia as being its important component, as being a combat section upon which one always could and can rely. I am convinced that by its activity it will continue to energetically and resolutely stand behind the realization of the tasks arising from the economic and social restructuring," Milos Jakes said.

He then discussed the party's crucial tasks in the current stage of our society's development. He stressed, in particular, the need for a faster transition from extensive to intensive economy. This will require, above all, changing people's attitudes and approaches, mobilizing them to greater participation in the common feat, and involving them to a far greater extent in decisionmaking in enterprises and plants, and in the management and the administration of the state. Therefore, a comprehensive deepening of socialist democracy and an expansion of the powers and the authority of the national committees, especially of their lower levels, is the necessary component of restructuring. It is necessary to continue clarifying the main directions and objectives of restructuring, and to make use of all forms of ideological and ideopolitical work to this end. The upcoming CPCZ Central Committee session will be devoted to improving this work.

Comrade Milos Jakes then spoke about the international situation. He said that even though we welcome the current process of international detente, we must always keep in mind the state's defensive capability, in which the People's Militia plays an indispensable role. In that connection he underscored the activities of the educational facility of the People's Militia attached to the Ground Forces Military College, which concentrates on proficiency training oriented toward fulfilling militiamen's defense and political work, toward achieving and maintaining their high preparedness to defend the state, protect facilities, and safeguard calm and public order. In conclusion, he wished the People's Militia much success in fulfilling the tasks of the new training year. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Vaclavik Issues Order of Day

LD2808215588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Army General Milan Vaclavik, also minister of national defense, has issued the Order of the Day on the 44th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising. He recalled the bequest of this historic event to our society and stressed the importance of the assistance which the Soviet Union provided to our resistance during the entire war period.

Milan Vaclavik also discussed the current program of accelerating the socioeconomic development of our country, outlined by the party's 17th congress, and with current international developments. On this topic he spoke about the importance of the peaceful foreign policies of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. He also stressed at the same time, however, the necessity of maintaining our state's defensive capabilities and the importance of both the political and combat readiness of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Minister Johanes Receives U.S. Official Rowny

LD0609201388 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today U.S. special presidential adviser for the questions of disarmament Edward L. Rowny, currently on two-day consultations here about the problems of disarmament.

They stressed the significance and usefulness of political contacts between representatives of governments with different social systems for a further improvement of the atmosphere in international relations. In this context they expressed the conviction that the talks of Edward Rowny with Czechoslovak partners will contribute to learning each other better and to a better understanding of standpoints to individual disarmament problems.

The Czechoslovak and U.S. representatives exchanged opinions on the prospects of the continuation of the disarmament process, especially on the problems connected with the nuclear disarmament, with the working out of the mandate of the forthcoming discussions on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armament in Europe, as well as other topical questions.

Jaromir Johanes stressed the importance of the recent disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states for the achievement of real progress in the

sphere of disarmament and highly appreciated the Soviet-American treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. He expressed the hope that the agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons will be concluded early.

He pointed out Czechoslovakia's active share in the disarmament process and explained the sense of the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states which has been submitted by General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes.

E.L. Rowny informed the Czechoslovak side about the U.S. standpoints on arms reduction problems, on his country's stand on the current disarmament discussions and expressed interest in some concrete aspects of Czechoslovakia's initiative.

Also present was U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Julian M. Niemczyk.

Edward L. Rowny was received today also by Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera to review the state and possibilities of the process of disarmament and strengthening of security on the European Continent.

They dealt also with the normalization of the Czechoslovak-U.S. relations and expansion of the two countries' economic and cultural cooperation.

Lenart Begins Moscow Working Visit

For Soviet and Czech reportage on the working visit to Moscow by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, see the East Europe section of the 6 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

President Husak Begins Official Visit to PRC

For Chinese and Czechoslovak reportage on the visit to the PRC by President Gustav Husak, see the East Europe subsection of the International Affairs section of the 6 September China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Deteriorating Economic Situation in Poland

AU0209160588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 31 August and 1 September publishes further dispatches by Pavol Minarik, its Warsaw correspondent, on the ongoing strikes in Poland. On 31 August, on page 1, it carries a 700-word Szczecin dispatch entitled "Where the Strike Is Taking Workers." It reports on Minarik's visit to the port of Szczecin the preceding day. After describing the scene on Szczecin's docks (banners and slogans with the strikers' demands, a large wooden cross near the main gate, entrances "blocked by heavy technology," strikers with Solidarity emblems on their lapels), Minarik gives an account of a mass for the strikers, which he witnessed. He says: "A middle-aged priest in a Fiat arrives. You must persevere in your struggle to the end, he tells the strikers. In addition to spiritual support, the Catholic Church has also sent cars with food to the docks. There is not the least indication here that the appeal of the higher Catholic hierarchy that Poland needs peace and good work has met with acceptance.... It seems that the Catholic Church is having problems with the obedience of its subordinates." Next, Minarik discusses the impact of the strike on Czechoslovakia. For 2 weeks, he says, Czechoslovak cargo has neither been loaded nor unloaded in Szczecin, and that it either must be sent elsewhere or that it is gathering dust in the Czechoslovak transloading station. This reportedly affects "thousands of cubic meters of our timber, magnesite in various forms, malt barley, and high-quality steel wire, all of which are for export."

In conclusion, Minarik warns that, if the strike continues, foreign clients may completely lose interest in the port of Szczecin. He accuses the "organizers of the strike" of showing no concern for the endangered future of the docks' 6,000 mostly unskilled employees and of "clearly striving to achieve political goals."

On 1 September, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO publishes an 850-word Pavol Minarik Gdansk dispatch, entitled "In the Captivity of Strikes." The dispatch concerns the continuing strike in the three Gdansk shipyards.

Minarik first interviews Witold Sobolowski, head of the propaganda department of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, on the situation. Sobolowski tells him: "Nervousness is beginning to mount in the city and its factories. The strike continues and, moreover, the aggressiveness of the protestors in the shipyards and in the port is growing. Michnik, Mazowiecki, and Walesa, former 'Solidarity' leaders and advisers, attack everyone who does not agree with them on everything, especially those who openly oppose the strikes."

In the remaining part of his dispatch, Minarik compares the present strikes in Poland with the situation in 1980-81 and warns against the reinstatement of Solidarity. He says: "It is written in one of the leaflets which I picked up from the street on Wednesday [31 August]: 'With the legalization of "Solidarity," all problems will cease to exist.' However, the same promises that everything would be like paradise could be heard 7 years ago. What followed, however? Months of strike terror, sit-in strikes, 'hunger' marches, blockades of road traffic, or the setting afire of security buildings, like in Otwock. At the same time, every day in 1981 inflation grew by Z800 million and, by the end of the year, by Z2 billion a day. The whole economy was disrupted.

"The young people who occupy the gates of the shipyards and docks were 12 years old then, or perhaps 13. When they joined the strike actions, they did not have to know what 'Solidarity' entailed. Their leaders, however, are well aware of it. Today they demand trade union pluralism, but trade union pluralism did exist in Poland, and not so long ago that it could have completely fallen into oblivion. Even here, in the Gdansk shipyards, there were three trade union organizations in 1980-81. The attitude then of 'Solidarity' to the branch and autonomous trade unions is known. It was founded on the principle: What is yours is also mine, and what is mine is none of your business. That situation is essentially repeated today. The striking minority is forcing its interests on the overwhelming majority. In the Lenin shipyards, for instance, some 600 strikers prevent more than 10,000 employees from working normally. Even more dramatic is the situation in the Manifest Lipcowy mine in the Katowice area, where 80 strikers (most of them professional organizers of unrest who have nothing in common with coal mining) prevented some 8,000 miners from working on Wednesday. It cost Poland another 12,500 tonnes of bituminous coal. In the Stalowa Wola steel mill, 1,400 people continued to strike.

"The decisive portion of workers in mines, docks, shipyards, and steel mills is truly dissatisfied with the deteriorating economic situation. They have had enough of poor supplies, growing inflation, and the hopelessness of acquiring an apartment. In short, they want a better life, which is no wonder. Arrogance and bureaucracy, which still maintain strong positions, outrage them. The organizers of the strikes and their advisers, however, are not concerned with eliminating these problems. It is political demands which they bring to the forefront. Rather, they are interested in a steady deterioration of the economic situation, because they see in it chances to assert themselves. They thus strive to repeat methods that have already once driven the country to the brink of an abyss."

Attached to the Minarik dispatch is a 400-word CTK report, entitled "Preparations for a Roundtable Meeting." The report mentions, inter alia, Interior Minister Kiszczak's meeting with Lech Walesa on 31 August and notes that "after the meeting, Walesa is said to have left for Gdansk to call for the strikers to end their strike."

The two aforementioned Pavol Minarik dispatches are also carried by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 31 August and 1 September, both times on page 7.

Government Ends Talks on Using Polish Ports

AU0509130288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote Column"]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU writes that, in connection with the strike in the port of Szczecin, the CSSR has called off talks with Poland on the transit of Czechoslovak goods through Polish ports.

Daily Warns Against Concessions to Solidarity

AU0509130488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 7

[Pavol Minarik Gdansk dispatch: "Hopes and Fears: Polish Public on Developments in the Country"]

[Excerpts] Gdansk—The strike in the shipyards and in the port of Gdansk ended on Thursday [1 September] at 2:30 pm, after almost 2 weeks. The strike in the Stalowa Wola steel mill also ended Thursday night. This happened in the wake of the meeting on Wednesday [31 August] between Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of interior of the Polish People's Republic, and Lech Walesa, during which they discussed the prerequisites for a "roundtable" meeting on ways to solve the current situation in the country. [passage omitted]

On Thursday, Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban said about Walesa, who after his meeting with Minister Kiszczak called for an end to the strikes: "We appreciate every positive step, and the call to end the strikes is such a step. Although the strikes are dying down, Walesa's appeal, albeit belated, is better than no appeal at all." [passage omitted]

Speaking at the PZPR Central Commission session on Sunday [28 August], Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Existing coalition forms can be supplemented with currents, associations, and individuals who are ready to cooperate on the basis of the constitutional order." Freely translated, this provides for the flexible choice of even unusual methods of negotiation and contacts. Cz. Kiszczak's meeting with L. Walesa was one of these, and both sides are linking certain expectations with it. Only time and the development of events will demonstrate the correctness of this step. However, there are people in Poland who by no means desire peace, understanding, and agreement. One of them is the Catholic priest Jankowski from the St Brygida Church in Gdansk, with whom Walesa maintains contact. During the morning mass on Thursday, Jankowski declared that "Solidarity must not be sold out, irrespective of the results of the talks" and that "during the talks, the government must be viewed as an adversary." He even said that the party's program must be immediately replaced by the program of "Solidarity." Also, his other views disquiet the Polish public, the majority of whom have not yet forgotten the "Solidarity" diktat of the early eighties and its destructive policy which threw Poland into a severe crisis.

Wednesday night Polish radio carried the first reactions of the public to the new development of events in the country. They are full of contradictions. People respond with relief to the reports on the ending of the strikes, but at the same time they express fears about the threat of similar conflicts in the future. A voice could also be heard expressing fear of excessive concessions to the strikers, including not only economic but also political concessions.

Cambodia's Chea Sim Interviewed as Visit Ends
LD0609082888 Prague CTK in English
0607 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 6 (CTK)—"My working visit...confirmed the unchanging support of the Communist Party, government and people of Czechoslovakia for the stand of the Kampuchean People's Republic and its effort at national reconciliation and search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem", Chea Sim told RUDE PRAVO at the close of his visit to Czechoslovakia in an interview published today.

The Politburo member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Kampuchean National Assembly and the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence presented during his visit a message from party General Secretary Heng Samrin to General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes.

"The assistance and material and spiritual support which we have received...are a significant encouragement to us. Experiences gained by Czechoslovak comrades during the socialist construction are a source of knowledge for us", Chea Sim added.

Dealing with the situation in Kampuchea, Chea Sim said that it has now passed the most difficult stage of reconstruction and development in all spheres. Especially this year is crucial for the implementation of the first plan of reconstruction and socio-economic development in the 1986-1990 period. "Our superiority has been proved in politics as well as diplomatically and this has forced the adversary against his will to recognize the existence of the Kampuchean People's Republic and our development. As a result, he must hurry in the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem in order to get out of the blind alley of the last ten years.". Chea Sim voiced firm optimism that a solution will be found in future.

Politburo Member Werner Felfe Dies 7 Sep

LD0709091788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0906 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—The SED Central Committee, the People's Chamber, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front announce with deep sorrow that Comrade Werner Felfe, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and member of the GDR State Council, has died on 7 September at the age of 60.

Stoph-Led Delegation Departs for DPRK

LD0609203388 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1900 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] A GDR party and government delegation led by Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for the DPRK this evening. The delegation will attend the official festivities in Pyongyang marking the country's 40th anniversary.

Further Reportage on Leipzig Fall Fair

Stoph Hosts Dinner for Soviets

LD0509033888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Leipzig, 4 Sep (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, gave a dinner on Sunday in honor of the Soviet Government delegation led by Deputy Premier Vladimir Gusev, which is in the GDR for the Leipzig Fall Fair.

During the meeting, which took place in complete amity, the partners in the talks noted with satisfaction that the close friendly relations between the two states are further developing successfully as a result of the agreements reached between the leading representatives, and that they are of benefit to both sides. The firm fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR, and between the peoples of the two countries are gaining even more significance in our time.

Now that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has come into effect, determined new steps for further reducing the military potentials are needed to improve the international situation. For this reason, the GDR and the USSR will continue their persistent struggle to create a comprehensive international security system that accords with the interests of all peace-loving peoples.

Willi Stoph expressed his regard for the USSR's collective display, which was a particular attraction of the 1988 Leipzig Fall Fair and which gave a valuable impetus to cooperation between our countries. The diverse and interesting range of products and services demonstrated what impressive results were being achieved in realizing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. A series of Soviet exhibits made convincingly clear the results of the fruitful scientific and technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. Direct scientific-technological and production relations between enterprises and institutions of the two countries on the basis of corresponding agreements are increasingly coming to the forefront. The special exhibitions by the Moldavian SSR and the Saratov region were also impressive.

Following his first impressions of the Leipzig Fall Fair, Vladimir Gusev stated that the extensive range of products and services by GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises offered favorable preconditions for concluding contracts within the framework of existing trade agreements. This was a good basis for the further development and determined deepening of the economic and scientific-technological ccoperation between the two countries.

The GDR officials taking part in the dinner were: Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Herbert Weiz, minister of science and technology; Guenter Ehrensperger, SED Central Committee department head; Dr Rudi Georgi, minister of the machine-tool and processing industry construction; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of the chemical industry; and other personalities.

Present from the USSR side were: V. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR; A. Sangeli, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers; V. Kulagin, USSR first deputy minister of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemcial Industry [title as received]; G. Rachimbayev, USSR deputy minister for foreign economic relations; L. Lukyanov, USSR trade representative to the GDR; and other personalities.

Honecker Meets Bayer AG's Head

LD0409213088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1227 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Leipzig 4 Sep (ADN)—At the fair stand of Bayer AG, Leverkusen/FRG, Hermann Josef Strenger, chairman of the board, welcomed Erich Honecker and the other personages of the party and state leadership of the GDR. Also present was Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permament Mission in the GDR. In a negotiating cubicle of the enterprise in which the gold medals won over past years at Leipzig can be seen, there was a conversation between hosts and guests. Hermann Josef Strenger, on behalf of the board and all staff, expressed his pleasure at being able to welcome Erich Honecker and the other representatives at the fair stand for the first time. The visit is a "First" in two respects. You are doing us the honor of visiting the Bayer stand for the first time, and it is a "first" for me, in that I have the honor and pleasure of meeting and getting to know you, the chairman of the board said. He continued: I may

point out that good business relations have existed between the GDR and our Bayer enterprise for decades, both on a commercial and a technological basis. This is expressed in the fact that we have a trade volume per year of the magnitude of 200 millions [no units as received] in both directions.

This however is also expressed in the fact that we have cooperation in the sphere of pharmaceuticals and pest control; I am thinking of the joint venture in your new pharmaceutical center at Neubrandenburg, where we are discussing a plant to be set up there for antibiotics. Signing of the contract is, I believe, planned for October. But I am also thinking of cooperation in the sphere of research and science. We have some cooperation arrangements with your scientific institutes in the pharmaceutical and pest control areas. In addition to this I would particularly like to highlight the possibilities for even deeper cooperation in the future in the sphere of environmental protection and safety. We have invited your experts for talks in order to show our waste management plants. I hope that this meeting takes place.

Hermann Josef Strenger pointed to the cultural involvement of Bayer AG. There is a lively exhange between cultural institutions of the GDR and his company. The chairman of the board asked for the promotion of good business and personal relations.

Dr Hand Otto Braeutigam, head of the Permanent Mission, then addressed the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and conveyed greetings from the Federal Government to Erich Honecker. We are happy he said, to be able to state that what you agreed on your visit 1 year ago is being implemented step by step. Some things are perhaps not going as fast as we had imagined, or as you had imagined, but progress is being made, and work is proceeding point by point. International developments, he added, benefit us in this. He would only mention two things: One, that the relationship between the EC and the CEMA is regulated. The GDR initiated relations, and the Federal Government welcomes this. Second: Good progress is being made at the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, and an end will surely be reached soon. I think, said Dr Braeutigam, that we can start the most important negotiations on conventional disarmament by the end of this year. The two German states have made an important contribution, and are continuing to do so, in order that the preconditions for this may be created.

The Federal Government continues to be concerned in its European policy with strengthening peace and stability, creating trust, and developing cooperation which corresponds to the just interests of the states and which also takes account of the natural needs of people in our countries. This is, and remains, our policy, Dr Braeutigam said, and in this spirit, I would like to wish success to the Leipzig Fair and all exhibitors.

Erich Honecker thanked Herr Hermann Josef Strenger for the friendly reception at the fair stand. We have come here, he said, to stress that we very highly prize the stable economic relations between your firm and ours. He had briefed himself on this and found confirmation in the observations just made by the chairman of the board of Bayer AG, to the effect that we have after all achieved a turnover of M1.3 billion since 1980. This is visible. What Herr Strenger said proves that we wish to expand things even further: He was thinking here of the pharmaceutical industry, environmental protection, and other areas.

Erich Honecker said that economic relations between our firms are widely known to be part of the total relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Turning to Hans-Otto Braeutigam, Erich Honecker said: "I would like to underline completely your remarks with regard to the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. It is indeed the case that we have had some forward movement in some areas since my offficial visit to the FRG last year. In my opinion, that is extraordinally significant for development in the whole of Europe, especially for the replacing of confrontation by reinforced cooperation. Here, there has been some improvement. On behalf of the government, I would like to say that the GDR considers the development and expansion of relations with the FRG, including economic relations, to be a stabilizing element in international relations. We are prepared to speedily continue the expansion of the same on the basis of the results of my visit last September.

Erich Honecker said that the conclusion of the agreement on transferring energy including West Berlin, the purchase of Airbuses, the continued licensing of products, cooperation in third markets, business relations with Bayer AG, and the continuing purchase of investment goods are sufficient proof of this. He added that the economic development of the GDR and its dynamism will also continue in the coming years. The GDR's national income will rise annually by 4 to 4.5 percent. Compared to the world's economic development, this is enormous. Thus, we will also create the basis for even more effective cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological spheres, too. Therefore, we have good prerequisites for the further development of cooperation between the enterprises of the GDR and the firms of the FRG. Erich Honecker expressed his conviction that 1988 will be a good year.

The chairman of the board replied that the year 1988 had also been a good year for Bayer AG. The firm celebrated its 125th anniversary this year, and with regard to this, he would like to present Erich Honecker with a book entitled "Meilensteine" ["Milestones"], one specially printed for the anniversary. Milestones are very important, said Erich Honecker in greeting the firm's

anniversary, and one agrees with Dr Braeutigam, who, in an apparent allusion to Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG, added: The milestone we had last year.

Honecker Visits Bulgarian Stand

AU0409153688 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 4 (BTA correspondent)—At the International Trade Fair which opened in Leipzig today, the Bulgarian manufacturers demonstrate the growing capabilities above all of electronics, information technology, the food and the light industries. On an exhibition space of 600 square metres, 15 economic corporations and foreign trade organizations display their latest exports.

Today Mr Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership of the G.D.R. visited the Bulgarian stand. Mr Erich Honecker commended highly the successful fulfilment of the bilateral agreements on trade, economic and techno-scientific cooperation and especially of the long-term programme signed in Sofia last year.

Honecker Views Romanian Stand

AU0509173288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1702 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, 05/09/1988—Romania's pavilion at the autumn edition of the Leipzig International Fair, was seen round by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, by other members of the party and state leadership. The guests were welcomed by Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

During the visit words of appreciation were expressed for the economic collaboration between Romania and the German Democratic Republic, for the products on display and emphasis was placed on the fact that Romania's participation at the current edition of the fair would contribute to the further development of bilateral economic cooperation and exchanges.

Honecker Visits Albanian Exhibit

AU0509184988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] The International Fall Fair opened recently in the GDR city of Leipzig, where our country is represented by a range of exhibits prepared by foreign trade enterprises.

On 4 September, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, accompanied by Horst Sindermann, chairman of the People's Assembly; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other high-ranking state officials visited the information stand of the foreign trade enterprises of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

They were received by Ilir Bocka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the GDR.

On this occasion, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, expressed his confidence that relations between our two countries will further develop in the field of trade, as well as in other areas of mutual benefit.

Honecker Views Italian Stand

AU0509144088 Rome ANSA in English 1019 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Excerpt] (ANSA) Leipzig, September 5—The Italian ambassador to East Germany, Alberto Indelicato, greeted head of state and Party Secretary Erich Honecker at the Italian exhibition in the Leipzig Trade Fair Sunday and noted that bilateral economic relations have not yet fulfilled the ambitions of the two sides.

During his stop at the sector of the fair set up by the Italian Foreign Trade Institute (ICE), Honecker assured the diplomat that, "things are certain to improve."

Similar views were voiced by the members of the president's entourage, Government Minister Willi Stoph, Guenter Mittag, the economic chief of the party's political office, Cone Tale, the country's leading economic spokesman, and Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil.

Italian sources at the fair, underscoring the importance of the event, said that Leipzig is considered a commercial "port of entry" to the socialist countries and pointed out that the West German automaker, Volkswagen, is preparing for the production in East Germany of two new models of its Golf subcompact. The deal was said to have keenly interested Fiat of Turin, which now claims sales figures making it Europe's largest carmaker. [passage omitted]

'Numerous' Contracts Signed

AU0609121388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The 1st day of the 1988 Leipzig Fall Fair was already characterized by extensive business activity. GDR export and import enterprises signed numerous contracts. The Electrical Engineering Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise and the Soviet foreign trade enterprises Mashpriborintorg and VNIIKP [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Canning Industry] concluded comprehensive contracts on the

delivery of RFT [expansion not known] information technology for the Soviet postal service and on the mutual purchase of cables and wire for 1989-90.

The Austrian VOEST-Intertrading Company is purchasing large amounts of metallurgical products from the Metallurgical Trade Foreign Trade Enterprise. VOEST-Intertrading is one of the long-standing clients of GDR metallurgy. In addition, several GDR foreign trade enterprises signed export and import contracts with other Austrian companies. The GDR delivers goods from bezirk-administered industry and the foodstuffs industry and imports food-industry products and cosmetics.

The GDR receives tubing for steel bottles from the FRG Mannesmann Pipe Works.

The GDR Textilcommerz and Interpelz foreign trade enterprises and the Austrian Kraus & Co. firm signed comprehensive export and import contracts on the mutual delivery of textile and leather industry products. Textilcommerz also concluded contracts with foreign trade enterprises from Bulgaria and Cuba. The Techno-Commerz and Heim-Electric Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprises entered into agreements with FRG companies on the purchase of pumps and compressors, searchlights, and deep bowl reflectors from the GDR.

On the occasion of the Leipzig Fair, the Belgian company Syprim-Air Industry Benelux and the Industrial Installations-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise agreed to build a ventilation plant for the aluminum electrolysis plant of the Bitterfeld Chemistry combine.

Industrial Installations-Import concluded an agreement with the FRG's Salzgitter Industrial Construction Company on importing equipment and science and technology for the production of food-flavoring substances in the Miltitz Chemical Works. The Miltitz Works are being built in cooperation with Austrian companies.

In line with a contract between the Baukema Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise and the Loukil Company, the GDR will deliver GDR construction equipment to Tunisia.

Contracts With USSR Concluded

AU0709084788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—On Monday in Leipzig the WMW-Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise and the Soviet Stankoimport Foreign Trade Enterprise concluded important contracts on mutual deliveries totaling roughly R66 million for 1989. The GDR will export jet molding machines and processing centers, as well as special machines for the roller-bearing industry, from the delivery and production program of the machine-tool construction sector. The Soviet partner is to deliver machine tools, metal-forming equipment, and tools.

Further Contracts Signed

AU0709085788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ND)—The 2d day of the fair in the Leipzig trade metropolis was also characterized by lively negotiations and the conclusion of important contracts. GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises signed important export and import contracts with business partners from many countries. The Baukema combine, for instance, concluded an agreement with the Soviet Stroydormashexport enterprise for the delivery of 220 excavators next year. In 1989 the Heim-Electric foreign trade enterprise will export several types of electrical vehicle equipment to the USSR.

The Chemistry Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise and the Austrian Chemie Holding Company of Linz concluded a contract on the delivery of chemical products in 1989. This will continue the long-standing business relations between the two partners.

On Monday the Potassium-Mining Foreign Trade Enterprise concluded a contract with the Norwegian Solberg Company on long-term exports of sodium sulphate in 1988-92. Next year the GDR will purchase spare parts for surgical tables from the Hungarian People's Republic. The printing combine will export sheet-fed offset printing machines to the CSSR, while the Carl Zeiss Jena combine concluded contracts on exporting "Specord M-80" spectrophotometers and special microscopes with PPR and U.S. enterprises.

International Officials Meet

AU0709100788 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 6 September on page 3 carries five reports (total 950 words) dealing with meetings of GDR politicians with foreign officials during the Leipzig Fall Fair on 5 September.

The first report (100 words) reports on the meeting of GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil with Saarland Economics Minister Hajo Hoffmann, where both politicians "stressed the positive development of trade to date and discussed measures to expand it."

The second report (200 words) reports on the meeting of GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer with Norman Wooding, deputy chairman of the British Council for Trade with Eastern Europe, where the two politicians "both expressed their interest and their willingness to expand and intensify economic relations." Wooding also met with Claus Kuehnel, state secretary in the Ministry of Light Industry, and Waldemar Harz, deputy minister of bezirk-administered and foodstuffs industry.

The third (150 words) reports on the meeting of Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics, with Hassan Hubayshi, deputy minister of

industry, trade, and supply of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, where the two politicians discussed "the delivery of GDR computer technology for the establishment of a national information network." The Yemeni deputy minister also met with Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Claus Gaedt and State Secretary Claus Kuehnel.

The fourth (250 words) reports on the meeting of Foreign Trade Minister Beil with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of the SR of Romania, where the two ministers "discussed measures that will serve the further implementation of the annual protocol on goods exchange in 1989." The Romanian minister also met with Rudi Georgi, minister of machine-tool and processing machinery construction, and Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of general machinery, agricultural machinery and vehicle construction.

The fifth report (250 words) reports on the meeting of Foreign Trade Minister Beil with Rudolf Streicher, Austrian minister for transport and nationalized industry, and Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, where both sides "paid tribute to the positive development of the economic relations between their two countries this year and noted with satisfaction that this trend will continue." Minister Streicher also met with Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister of chemical industry.

Minister Beil Holds Reception

AU0609114688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German
5 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the end of the first day of the Leipzig Fair on Saturday [3 September], GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil invited the representatives from industry and trade from all over the world to a festive reception in the New Town Hall. They held stimulating talks with the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, and Gerhard Schuerer, and other important figures of the GDR's economy and science.

In a toast at the beginning of the evening, Gerhard Beil stated that this fall, too, the Fair metropolis is living up to the demands set by the rapid scientific-technological progress and the new forms of international economic cooperation. "The dimensions of the GDR's economic projects clearly demonstrate that we are facing up to the challenges and are reacting flexibly and in a timely way to all emerging conditions," he stressed. The atmosphere of the Leipzig Fair, which promotes dialogue and peaceful cooperation, gives rise to the expectation that a few new doors will be opened to the extension of trade contacts over the next few days, Beil said.

The reception offered varied opportunities to exchange opinions on the further expansion of trade and on the prospects of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The guests included Vladimir Gusev, head of the USSR Government delegation to the Leipzig Fall Fair and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Jorge Fernandez, education minister of the Argentine Province of Santa Fe; Andre Vallerand, minister of international affairs of the government of the Canadian Province of Quebec; Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of Romania; Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade of Albania; Hassan Hubayshi, deputy minister of industry, trade, and supply of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; and Jose de la Fuente, deputy minister of foreign trade of Cuba.

Also present were, from the FRG, Walter Kittel, state secretary in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry; and Dieter von Wuerzen, state secretary in the Ministry of Economic Affairs; as well as Under State Secretary Lars Stalberg, chairman of the Sweden-GDR Joint Commission. The following people also participated in the reception: Norman Wooding, deputy chairman of the British Council for Trade with Eastern Europe; 'Abdallah al- Akbari, director general of the National Society for Foreign Trade and Grain of the Yemen Arab Republic; and Jorge Saxel, president of the Association of Citrus Fruit Producers, Uruguay.

Grosz Comments on Hungarians in Romania

LD0709125988 Budapest MTI in English
2107 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—On Tuesday, Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, met poet Sandor Kanyadi, a prominent representative of Hungarians in Romania and of Hungarian culture in general. The sides held an informal exchange of views on the importance of Hungarian-Romanian cultural contacts, and the position of Hungarians living in Romania.

Karoly Grosz greatly appreciated the work of the representatives of Hungarian culture in Romania, and their service in enhancing awareness of the common fate of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples in the interest of their co-existence. He emphasized that Hungary felt a sense of responsibility towards Hungarian-speaking people, no matter where in the world they live. The Hungarian national minority in Romania can only forge closer relations between the two peoples if it can fully exercise its specific rights, freely use its mother tongue and develop its relations with the parent nation unhindered. The HSWP general secretary spoke about political rights of the national minorities living in Hungary.

Sandor Kanyadi emphasized what great responsibility had to be assumed, not only by politicians but also by intellectuals on the question of the minority issue. He felt it important that Hungarian and Romanian writers, poets and artists should work jointly to popularize the genuine values of the two peoples.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Responds to SCINTEIA Article

LD0609103488 Budapest MTI in English
0915 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—The Tuesday "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries a lengthy commentary on the article of the Romanian Communist Party daily "SCINTEIA" which analyzed Hungarian-Romanian relations. Among other things the Hungarian Council of Ministers' daily says:

(...) The central daily of the Romanian Party has expressed its blunt opinion on the Hungarian economic situation and the problems related to reform. However, we feel such a concentration of negative examples unjustified, and do not know if the comparison with the Romanian people, which cannot boast of abounding in information on Hungary, is plausible. SCINTEIA's cataloging however, of what it does not like in today's Hungary could also be the sign of sincerity that, in our opinion, we have needed for so long.

Should the article be the beginning of a debate characterised with maximal openness and an intention to improve, and of a more sincere mass media, then we welcome the initiative and are prepared to take part in the dialogue with the Romanian press, as the leaders of the two countries have already done so. In this case we admit, feeling no need of self-criticism, that the Hungarian press, including "MAGYAR HIRLAP", have long been polemical on issues that according to Romania, belong to internal affairs to such an extent that for others even the right of expression is rejected.

The discussion of any topic that proves that Hungary and Romania do have unresolved issues in their relations are regarded as 'tendentious and malevolent action'. As far as we know, the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania does give rise to anxiety, and we cannot depict the domestic situation in Romania with an so ideal picture as our predecessors did 10-15 years ago. Times have changed here as well as in several other countries. This is why we welcome the prospect that from now on the Romanian public will be given authentic information, and we would not consider it ethical if this picture lacked the description of our economic woes, which are daily discussed by the Hungarian press because we believe openness contributes to their rectification.

We will not be disheartened if several elements of our economic reform are disapproved of in Romania, but we question the plausibility of the warning that: 'Taking all these into consideration, would it be not better if the Hungarian press dealt with Hungary's own problems, instead of doing guesswork and disseminating insinuations'.

From all this it is hard to determine the aims of the Romanian editors. To discuss concrete issues? We are prepared to take part in it. To explore the Hungarian reality before the Romanian public? We think it useful. To protect the Romanian economy from the mistakes we made in Hungary? Good luck. But for the question 'would it not be better...?' the answer is a definite 'no'. Just as we believe that it is not better to conceal the problems, and hide accusations behind diplomatic smiles than to reveal and confront facts and views.

We will not get far by citing party resolutions. Nor will we by pointing at each other, or by such superficial statements such as 'the Hungarian press takes no notice of the agreements of Arad'. We know that only a few copies of Hungarian dailies are available in Romania, where more than two million people can read Hungarian, but SCINTEIA is expected to get at least one copy. Has it not been noticed that three Budapest-based dailies, including MAGYAR HIRLAP, carried analysis expressing cautious expectations as early as the next day of the meeting. Could we do more being aware that more than 90 per cent of the agreements signed 11 years ago was not implemented? Furthermore, the fault lies not with the Hungarian side.

Was the Romanian public informed that the agreements of 1977 envisaged the encouragement of tourism? Do they know that up to the day of the Arad meeting

thousands of Hungarian tourists with valid documents had been turned back from the Romanian borders? That a Hungarian deputy minister of culture and education was refused participation in the Romanian events of the Bartok-centenary? What does the Romanian public know about the Hungarian cultural centre in Bucharest, which was also set up under previous agreements? Is there any plausible explanation why the Romanian Party refused to open it? It cannot be supposed that it was Hungary that did not want to open its completed cultural centre in Bucharest, or that we put obstacles in the way of opening the Romanian centre in Budapest.

Offended feelings must not be mistaken for the unresolved genuine problems of bilateral relations that hinder us in sharing SCINTEIA's analysis, the conclusion of which is that there are 'no problems'.

Problems do exist, but we would like to consider them temporary and resolvable, and we also were optimistic following the meeting in Arad. This optimism cannot be undermined by the SCINTEIA's attacks on the Hungarian press, as long as they represent the opening of a new channel in Hungarian-Romanian dialogue. We would be sorry, however, if they did not serve this purpose. But what the Hungarian press should say and what it should not say is not for others to determine.

Youths Protest Romania's Village Policy

LD0309153388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] Hungarian youths protesting the village destruction in Romania began their action near the Romanian Embassy in Budapest on 24 August. They have since been joined by Romanians who have temporarily settled in our country. I visited the site today. That is where I spoke—after a cold damp night—to the shivering individuals:

[Begin recording] [First demonstrator] I have been sleeping here for a week—if I do manage to sleep. At the moment I cannot see whether this action will be successful.

[Announcer] Why are you speaking in such uncertain terms?

[First demonstrator] I think part of the reason is the outcome of the Arad meeting. We had expected more from the summit, so the whole country really must be mobilized to ensure that it does not tolerate the oppression on such a scale of the Hungarian national minority and other nationalities in Romania. They are Hungarians too, and it is very important to us that they should also be able to live in humane conditions. We feel that it would have been rather important to restore the consulate. The consulate represented the interests of Hungarians living there.

[Announcer] Everyone identifies your action, your protest, with the protest against the village destruction plan. But is this the only point?

[First demonstrator] The village destruction plan is only one of the most acute aspects of the Romanian situation; it is the culmination of the general situation there. But I think that the halting of the village destruction plan would not in itself solve the problem. The whole attitude should change there, and the village destruction plan should be resolved in the course of this change. This would be the really good solution.

[Second demonstrator] We have precise information about the fact that this plan has begun.

[Announcer] Can you give me an example?

[Second demonstrator] There is [name indistinct] near Bucharest, near Brasov, and near the big cities there are some. That is where it is easiest to move people to towns most quickly. The people who leave the houses or the villages can take with them only the most necessary possessions.

[Announcer] Will your action end tomorrow?

[First demonstrator] No, it seems it will probably end Tuesday afternoon. We would like to end it when the embryo concert begins.

[Second demonstrator] We have also been able to show that there is solidarity between Hungarians and Romanians, as with this demonstration, if they stick together.

[Third demonstrator] The collection of signatures is not restricted to Budapest. We named this square Romanian- Hungarian Solidarity Square, because it had no name. We asked the council to keep this name. This name has now become so well-known that signatures are arriving from the country by mail.

[Announcer] So this square has become a postal address?

[Third demonstrator] Yes, it has become a postal address. The postman finds his way here with the letters. [end recording]

[Announcer] Writer Istvan Nemeskuerty, author of the recently published book "Sweet Transylvania," heard this interview in the studio. He made the following comment:

[Begin Nemeskuerty recording] Let us be careful. Our troubles and disputes are not with the Romanian people. In the same way we would be unhappy if we Hungarians were lumped together with everyone who did something bad in this country in the past 1,100 years. We would not be talking continually about Romanians in general. We

must make people aware that the given Romanian policy, and the government and leadership representing this given Romanian policy, is committing crimes against Europe's national minority, and this must be prevented. [end recording]

Statistics on Romanian Refugees, Funds Published

AU2608141788 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Aug 88 p 6

[Unattributed and untitled table of statistics on the number of refugees from Romania in various counties and the funds allocated for their assistance.]

[Text] On the basis of reports submitted to him, Arpad Alfoldi, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Red Cross, informed us about the preparation of statistics on Romanian refugees in various Hungarian counties. Here we publish some of the important ones:

Some 1,748 resettlers were registered in Hajdu-Bihar County at the end of this June. They were allocated 399,500 forints for 347 single people and 80 families. From the total of 189,000 forints paid on the county's account, 11,000 forints have so far been allocated to assist 87 individuals. A total of 812 persons received 6,000 pieces of clothing. The county's Red Cross officials offered almost 100 jobs and 63 housing opportunities for the refugees.

There are 272 refugees living in Szabolcs-Szatmar County. At the time of this report, 118,700 forints had been distributed to 146 people. Some 300 persons received clothing and other assistance.

Some 120,000 forints were distributed among the 114 refugees living in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County. One-third of this sum was raised by the population.

In Bekes County, 314,000 forints were distributed among 357 persons. Almost 500 persons received other assistance—clothing, furniture, household appliances, etc.

In Bacs-Kiskun County, 81 refugees received 45,000 forints and 20 sacks of clothing.

Some 168 refugees, including 22 minors, have been registered in Fejer County to date. They received 81,000 forints.

In Baranya County, 150,000 forints were allocated to 136 persons, and 216 persons received clothing and other assistance.

There are 95 refugees in Gyor-Sopron County. They have to date received 20,000 forints. This amount is small because, according to county officials, they have exhausted their assistance funds.

Some 5,806 persons have registered with the Information Office in Budapest since its establishment. Of them, 572 people have received 675,500 forints, and 1,904 persons have received jobs. The daily turnover at the office is about 80-140 persons. Temporary housing has been provided to 253 persons. When it is justified, refugees have received medical treatment, children were placed in educational institutions, permanent financial allowances were given, and even emergency housing was allocated.

Opinion Poll on Hungarian-Romanian Summit

AU0609163588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Sep 88 p 4

[Unidentified correspondent's report: "Public Opinion Poll on the Hungarian-Romanian Summit in Arad"]

[Text] On 30 and 31 August 1988, the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute carried out a survey based on personal questions addressed to a representative selection of about 300 Budapest inhabitants. The poll was aimed at providing a picture of public reaction to the talks held between Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu in Arad on 28 August. The questions covered the fact of the meeting, the reasons behind it, the conflicts that burden Hungarian-Romanian relations, the expectations for the elimination of tensions, and a judgment concerning the supply of information about the meeting.

Essentially all the people surveyed were aware of the summit and 94 percent of those people also knew the location of the summit. Four-fifths of the people surveyed also knew that such a high-level meeting was now taking place after more than a decade.

The pollsters also inquired about the reasons and circumstances for holding this summit precisely at this time. "Aggravated relations" were most frequently mentioned among the reasons, by 43 percent of the people surveyed. Some sort of international pressure was mentioned as a possible reason (13 percent of the people thought of mediation or persuasion by the Soviet Union or other socialist countries, and 23 percent thought of other international pressure).

Some 28 percent of the Budapest inhabitants agree that preconditions should have been set prior to holding a Hungarian-Romanian summit; some 72 percent of the people surveyed supported the unconditional talks. About 90 percent of the people who would have set preconditions to the meeting demanded possibilities for freer relations with Hungary for the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania, mother-tongue education for the national minorities living in Romania, the use of the mother tongue, respect for general human rights, and modification of the so-called resettlement policy.

The survey also analyzed the degree of severity with which the people surveyed judged the conflicts that are burdening Hungarian-Romanian relations and which

have been constantly treated by the mass media recently. The following issues are regarded as extremely severe by the population: the resettlement plan (84 percent); human rights (80 percent); difficulties of the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania in maintaining contacts with Hungary (77 percent); schooling for national minorities in Romania and the use of their mother tongue (74 percent); and differences of opinions about history (74 percent).

Without exception, everyone thinks that bilateral Hungarian-Romanian talks should continue, and 93 percent think that there will be a continuation of the talks. Opinions differ on the time needed for an expected improvement in Hungarian-Romanian relations. Some 56 percent of the population thinks that such an improvement would take place within 4 years; 27 percent of the people think that 5-10 years are needed for this; 9 percent of the people forecast an even longer period of time; and 8 percent of the people think that such an improvement will never occur. Younger people and people with a higher level of education are more pessimistic than the average.

Some four-fifths of the Budapest inhabitants followed with attention the news about the summit meeting. The fact that 45 percent of the people turned to radio, television, and the dailies for information, and 80 percent named at least two information means as their source of information shows the high level of interest manifested toward the meeting.

A total of 46 percent of the people saw, heard, or read the interview given by Karoly Grosz immediately following the meeting, which was broadcast by television and radio late in the evening of 28 August and subsequently published in the dailies.

As a whole, a high level of homogeneity is characteristic of the opinions of Budapest inhabitants on the state of Hungarian-Romanian relations. The high level of information, the strong intensity of opinions, and the lack of differences, or the existence of very slight differences from traditional social and demographic viewpoints (age, schooling, sex, profession, party membership), allow us to conclude that on this issue, our public opinion is extremely uniform and clear.

MSZMP Political Committee Meets 6 Sep

LD0609223588 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, SEptember 6 (MTI)—On September 6 the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a meeting. The issues on the agenda included, among others, the renewal of the ideological work. As practice shows the party members are expecting the stance of the Central Committee in several important subjects. These are: The special characters of the socialist development, the ideological questions of the operational mechanism and control of the socialist economy, and the ideological implications of the political and power relations. The Political Committee discussed several possible alternatives since in the near future the material will be submitted to the Central Committee.

As the second point on the agenda the body discussed the political work aimed at the streamlining of the party's youth policy.

It was concluded that the changes of recent years provoked the feeling of lost horizons in several young ones. In the social and economic decisions the consideration to the youth was not enforced appropriately. The influence of the party weakened among the youngs. Although the communist youth organization takes efforts for the elaboration of an appropriate new political style, at the same time it could not halt the decline of the membership. The contradiction between possibility and demand for the multicoloured youth work and the present organizational frameworks is increasing.

The Political Committee emphasizes that, the basic aim of the party's youth policy is to couple the youth into the social processes, to open a field of activity for the youngs and to strengthen its effect among them. The aims, methods and system of means of the youth policy have to be fitted to the new circumstances. It is approved that the daily contact of the party and the youth organization be characterized by independence and respect for forming opinions and in strategic issues a much closer cooperation, as it is today.

The Political Committee listened to the report of Karoly Grosz on the working meeting of August 28 at Arad and at the same time the joint report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Hungarian-Romanian relations.

The Political Committee concluded that to hold the working meeting of Arad was right. It was laid down as a matter of principle—something the general secretary of the HSWP also stressed—that the Hungarian People's Republic feels responsibility for, and monitors with distinct interest, the development of the individual and collective rights of Hungarians living beyond our borders, their culture and mother-tongue, and continues to urge the active participation of the nationalities in shaping bilateral ties. It has been established that the opportunity to remain in one's native land is a basic human right. From this approach, we offered cooperation in settling in the cases of the refugees from Romania. Since the Romanian side has failed to take advantage of the opportunity offered to it, the Political Committee proposes to the government, that it should make use of all the possibilities at the disposal of the Hungarian People's Republic to do all it can for the earliest possible, humane solution of the status of the refugees.

The Political Committee finds it important that, on the grounds of the general secretaries' meeting, a Hungarian municipal council delegation should leave for Romania as soon as possible to study the resettlement programme which has evoked a wide range of problems.

The Political Committee confirmed that efforts in foreign policy aimed at eliminating tensions appearing in Hungarian-Romanian relations should be continued. So that the proposals made in principle at the Arad meeting can be realised, measures have to be taken, which might give hope for progress in the key fields of cooperation and thus also contribute to the reduction of tension in this part of Europe. Our standpoint on principles—flexible, but at the same time determined—serves to strengthen European detente and increase the respect for socialism.

The body later discussed personal issues and was briefed on current affairs.

The session of the HSWP Central Committee was convened for 27 September.

Spokesman on Session

LD0609231088 Budapest MTI in English 2110 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—At the press conference following the session of the Political Committee Laszlo Major, the head of the HSWP CC Bureau said, among others, on the importance of the renewal of the ideological work: It should be thought over, that what type of socialism image is projected in the future, since the negative experiences of the previous period warn that in our socialism image utopist and illusory elements appeared. A working committee is handling the ideological questions which preoccupy the public and especially the party members. No definite deadline for its activity was set. As for the reason, Jeno Andics, the head of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda said: In the debate it was formulated with great emphasis that socialism is not a mechanical social image but a movement. This movement has aims which should be incorporated into our programme and regarding each factual political step a stance should be taken on the related ideological issues. This issue was raised in a wider sense and the body decided to propose to the Central Committee to assign the Agitation and Propaganda Committee working beside the CC to set up ad hoc committees for the study of the most important ideological issues related to the development of socialism. These committees should develop their stances on given issues and this should be published, and the Central Committee, as work progresses, next year wishes to deal with ideological questions based on the activity of the working committees.

In the debate—he said—it also emerged that if the Association Law is passed by the parliament, this be followed by a scientific-ideological meeting on the expected social-political effects of the law and its effect on the ownership relations. The experiences of the discussion will be evaluated by the Agitation and Propaganda Commission, which also will release its stance. Regarding the streamlining of the party's youth policy Laszlo Major told, replying to questions: At the meeting such an idea emerged that the CYUH [Hungarian Communist Youth League] should work as an elite force of the communist youth but organized on a federative basis, for instance combining age based strata-organizations. In these issues the CYUH should decide herself.

Laszlo Major said that neither the alternative youth movements nor the Hungarian Democrat Forum were discussed at the present meeting.

Speaking on the Hungarian-Romanian working meeting of the general secretaries he underlined that according to the analysis of the Political Committee the party's general secretary represented energetically and appropriately the Hungarian stance at the meeting. The international acceptance of the working meeting is good and this is supported by information from diplomatic sources and the analysis of the foreign press. The body found that in several details progress could been achieved and at the same time in basic issues—and we consider as such the assurance of the nationalities' rights and settlement rearrangement plan—the Romanian stance remained unchanged. We naturally could not expect a breakthrough at this single meeting—he added—and the most important progress now is that the high level dialogue, which was suspended for long time, started again. The Political Committee finds it positive that the Romanian side accepted an action plan following the working meeting, but the real results can only be judged by actual deeds concerning the fullfillment of the issues discussed at the meeting. Laszlo Major also said that the body reviewed a task plan which formulates the recommended steps for the Government in the field of the Hungarian-Romanian relations and which includes the party's tasks in comprehensive issues of principle, as well.

Kadar Meets With USSR's Zagladin

LD0609214188 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—On Tuesday in Budapest, Janos Kadar, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Vadim Zagladin, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and first deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the CPSU CC, who is paying a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. The cordial, comradely meeting was attended by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

HDF 'Founding Members' on Forming New Party

LD0609090988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1712 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "From the Horse's Mouth" program: interview with Sandor Csoori and Zoltan Biro, "founding members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF)," by program presenters Tamas Forro and Henrik Havas in Lakitelek; speakers cannot be identified; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Question] A representative of young radicals raised the question: Why doesn't the Hungarian Democratic Forum form itself into a party? Sandor Csoori, I watched your face, and Zoltan Biro's as well. You both shook your heads. Is the time not ripe for this, or do you not even desire this?

[Answer] Since the coalition parties here in Hungary ceased, political culture has sunk. It is not worth founding a new party while a country is unable to raise this political culture to such a level that another party cannot adopt its true position. It is conceivable that in this confusion, suddenly another party is formed; then, while facing an uncertain, wavering party, another uncertain, wavering party is formed. This would result in party struggles instead of there coming into being a natural joining of forces, something we now have greater need for in this country than a low-level party struggle. Therefore, we would like to create a political culture and to make it such that on its basis there might either be a new party, evolving from this, or that someone from among those present here should later found a party.

[Question] Of course, this is at one and the same time a minimum and a maximum program. If someone reads your statutes, then this might even be a People's Front program.

[Answer] All the more so, because two sentences were heard this morning. One of them said that the HDF starts out from the data of the existing politcal system, and the other that they want to mediate between society and the authority.

[Havas] In this way, however, as Tamas Forro put it, you will be members of, or you will adapt to, a political institution system—since you accept this on the basis of constitutionality—which you reject. Is this not a contradiction?

[Answer] It is certain that for the time being it is a contradiction, but if we do not accept this work then we cannot even attain a point whereby we would have an effect, let us say, on the constitution, a new constitution, coming into being in the spirit of that which the larger masses of society want, and which they want publicly. Naturally, these are not yet clear situations; they are situations in ferment. But politicizing is also a human will, that is to say, we want the situation to change. As for mediation, perhaps I could give a topical example. We saw to what an extent society in Poland had become paralyzed because the government resistance was very strong, and the opposition resistance was very strong. A situation that has been foundering for years has now evolved, with a small amount of movement. We must sit down and hold discussions. Perhaps the insistent and tenacious will of the mediators can create a new situation. We want first and foremost to take part in such situations, because we think that in a small country it is not possible to have so much division, so many kinds of division.

[Question] In the past months a kind of myth has evolved around the HDF. At the same time, here at the second Lakitelek consultation, we also heard the harsh criticism of its 1st year [HDF was created in September 1987]. What I have in mind is that some people said that it was characterized by expectation. There were those who said that it is directed by 50- and 60-year-olds. There were those who said that it is an antidemocratic organization. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] Well, with regard to its being an antidemocratic organization, naturally this is not possible, since this forum was not an organization. This HDF came into being in such a way that a few of us invented it, and not only did we invent it, but we also organized it and started it off. We started it. Now, with regard to the point that it is being run by old people, in this country everything is done by old people. Forty years have passed in such a way that generations have dropped out, generations have dropped out of the possibilities of engaging in politics. They did not learn the method of engaging in politics, and they became alienated from politics. Therefore, if I look at my generation, let us say those around 40-50, then I can say that whoever had a political leaning in this country, even he has transformed it into something else—he became a scientist, a teacher, an artist, because he could simply not get near to practical politics. Therefore it is obvious that here, too, people older than they should be are running it, but it has to be done, and they will hand over their places the moment conditions for that exist.

[Question] Let us talk about the membership and about your relationship to party members.

[Answer] Naturally we are pleased if party members also take part in the work of the HDF, in so far as they accept its basic principles, in so far as they accept the kind of consensus that has evolved here. We were very unhappy about the fact that party mmbers have been banned from the HDF.

[Second answer] A big country can afford to invent alternatives for renewing itself. We do not have so many chances, so we have to accept the condition of cooperation.

[Question] You used the comparison of big country-small country. What comes to my mind is my hearing from Szabolcs Szilagyi, a former Warsaw correspondent, that after the takeover of power in Poland, the Polish television newsreel announcer was dressed in military uniform, standing in front of a map of Europe. He was virtually suggesting: Here is Poland; above it the Baltic; below it Czechoslovakia; the USSR to the right, and the GDR to the left. Therefore: Where are we? He seemed to be asking the question: What do you want? That is why I ask you: What do you want?

[Answer] Every sober politician and every movement has to reckon with geopolitical data. We do, naturally, and in accordance with this, not in contradiction with it, we think that there is always a third possibility. It is hardest of all to achieve this third possibility. This has always existed in principle, or it has for a long time existed in principle for Magyardom, but the best people always strove toward this. Therefore, deriving from our Central European situation, deriving from our geographical position, we must seek this third possibility. I think that isolation from the East, or isolation from the West, could lead this nation to just such a catastrophe as any other kind of isolation or imbalance. In other words, here too we should resolve that imbalance, which has become so characteristic over a long period in this society. In the political sense as well. One of the important objectives of the HDF is to fight in some way for this third possibility within society. I am thinking not only of the split between the power center and society, but outside the country too, thinking here of the geopolitical situation and European peculiarities.

Official on Nonparty Media, Multiparty System

LD0409205488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Interview with Jenoe Andics, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, by unidentified announcer in the studio; date not given—live or recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] I welcome in the studio Jenoe Andics, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department. In other words, he guides the press, which, in my opinion, can no longer be guided in the way it was 1 or 2 years ago. What new methods do you have? Or should I put it this way: What is press guidance like now?

[Andics] It not only cannot be guided in that way, but it is not even necessary. The traditional methods of press guidance have to be replaced by the methods of political work carried out in the press. We have to divide the press in two: the party press and the other mass media. The party press is obviously directly guided by the party. Guiding the nonparty press—either the written or the electronic media—will be the task of the newspaper owners [lapgazdak]. They will be responsible from the political viewpoint for the media they guide.

[Announcer] In terms of the new law on association and assembly, more and more self-organizing groups—various movements—are being formed. I think that the most interesting issue now is yesterday's founding of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. What is your opinion about this?

[Andics] We are now debating the draft bill dealing with the right of assembly and association. The law which will be passed will unequivocally state whether the various movements which exist today—and which will be formed in the future—will function within legal frameworks. I mention this in general terms. I consider this important because until then I think that the only opinion we can adopt is that the legitimacy and the role of every single movement must be judged by unequivocal, objective legal decisions, independent of subjective intentions. The opportunities to regulate the right to independent action must be created for them.

Insofar as the Democratic Forum is concerned, in concrete terms, I think that its program is one thing and its activities are another thing. Its activities will reveal the movement's actual objectives, what tools it wants to use in the interest of these objectives. During these activities we will also see whether that openness which it stresses is really also directed toward continuing the dialogue with the party's policy, whether this openness provides a possibility to debate with this movement as an adequate social partner, to exchange opinions with it, and on certain issues, or on a series of issues, perhaps even reach agreement. This is a matter of its future activities.

[Announcer] I wonder what the relationship of party members to the various new movements should be. Let us take the Democratic forum: Could a party member join, for example?

[Andics] In my opinion, that would frankly be desirable. After all, the party is a movement. As a movement, it must be present in every pore of public life. This presupposes that party members will also belong to these organizations. Membership is naturally not decided by the party but by the party member or by the given accommodating [befogado]—I put the expression in quotation marks—organizations. If, however, they are open, then I think that this can take place without further ado. Obviously there will be numerous organizations which will forcefully criticize the party's policy, which is not a problem in itself. They may adopt objectives and principles which significantly differ from the party's objectives and principles. In a given concrete situation, the party's various decisionmaking bodies may deem that the party members' participation as members is not desirable. (?But a) lawful organization in this event must also function in such a way. In other words the party members—even if they are not active members—the party members will also go to those forms where these organizations practice politics and will actively take part, once again from the same concept that the party is not a sector but a movement.

Finally, obviously there could be organizations which profess political or ideological views that are explicitly contrary to those of the party. I have in mind religious associations. Evidently participation by the party—either membership or active participation by members—is desirable in these. However, this is strictly limited to religious associations alone.

[Announcer] The question also arose at Nadudvar [reference to information and propaganda conference held 1-2 September 1988], not for the first time and I think not for the last, whether there will be, whether there can be, a multiparty system in Hungary. As far as I know, you were also asked this question.

[Andics] I was not asked; I brought it up myself. I cannot find an answer based on theory either that there should be a multiparty system or that there should not be a multiparty system. The question of how many parties exist in a given society and what their relations are to one another are always decided by the struggle of concrete social political forces. That is how (?many) party systems evolved in the world; that is how parties evolve, change, develop, are born, reformed, united, and so on. On this issue it is always only possible to decide in a concrete situation. I believe that a party taking a stand with a socialist program, with a consistent socialist program, no matter how many parties, can be an organic part of a political system, obviously within the framework of socialism.

[Announder] Insofar as there is a possibility that such a party will be founded, what would happen if next week somebody stands up and says: I would like to form the Hungarian Social Democratic Party?

[Andics] Well, to this question I would say that I think that this raises the issue of the workers unity which came into being in'48, at the unity congress. For this reason, in fact, it would not be a new party that was being formed here, but the party that had been united would once more be splitting up. I do not agree with this, because we would be losing the political advantages gained from party unity, advantages that emerged (?unequivocally) over the past 4 decades. Therefore, my answer to such a thing is: No. On the other hand, if a party were formed with a consistently socialist program, then it could be formed. [Words indistinct], let us suppose. In today's reality I do not know of any party initiatives with such a program. For this reason, in today's situation, I think that a socialist program can and must be realized in a one-party system, alongside the party's leading role. In any case, if you ask: Should we set up a multiparty system. today this has only one concrete meaning—that this party should resign or simply that power should be taken away from the party.

[Announcer] Hmm.

[Andics] That is why I say that this can be done, but this needs another political force with a consistent socialist program. If this does happen, then it is not the party losing its power, but the bases of socialism become endangered in this historic situation. For this reason, in this historic situation my answer to the question whether there is a need for a multiparty system, based on the knowledge of the programmatic experiments which have so far been formulated in our country, is: No.

[Announcer] Thank you for the conversation.

Politburo's Nemeth on 'Struggling' Economy

LD0209203488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] We now report on the 2d day of consultations which discusses the forthcoming tasks of propaganda and information dissemination. Attila Balint and Andras Kerekes sum up the proceedings.

[Balint] We live in a difficult era, full of question marks and problems. This is how Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, began his lecture. First he spoke about the external economic environment. Then he pointed out that it is amid difficulties and a lack of resources and financial means that goals often in contradiction to one another need to be frequently coordinated, and to single out the most important ones among them. The economy must not be allowed to roll onto such an enforced course as has occurred in some socialist countries which are now struggling with serious problems. The most important task is restructuring, but the road of financing this solely by further credits cannot be followed, despite the fact that the company law could help in involving foreign capital. The way of exploiting internal resources is through the powerful support of enterprises. In addition to this, if it could be possible to involve only a small percentage of the almost 300 billion forints owned by the population in the development of production, then these two could help in the formulation of suitable ratios between the large and small plants.

[Begin Nemeth recording] The problem lies in that our actions only attain part of the expected results, or rather the envisaged results. This is interrelated primarily with the fact that the Hungarian economy has been struggling with large-scale problems of adjustment. It is not only struggling nowadays—it has been struggling for at least 15-20 years. We have not shaped—we are only at the beginning of the road—that system of forcing adjustment which is indispensible for the progress of a modern economy, let alone for a modernization task. We are only at the very beginning of creating a market economy, and the character, magnitude, and assessment of the tasks are being undertaken now, and the piecing together of the individual steps may certainly go hand in hand with setbacks, conflicts, and tensions. [end recording]

[Balint] In other words we have been continuing the problems, while by now, within the limits of the effectiveness of our actions, there exists the compulsion of a universal technological transformation, a system of institutions no longer suitable to economic requirements, an insufficient infrastructure, as well as a number of mistakes within our economic policy.

[Kerekes] However several steps of great significance have been taken as a result of which the reform process has become universal. Economic diplomacy too has brought successes with results that may be felt in the coming years. The first year of stabilization is acceptable, Miklos Nemeth stressed, even if the results in the transformation of the industrial structure are still rudimentary. The balance of the capitalist goods exchange has improved.

[Balint] The member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee went on to speak about the peculiarities in individual markets. He singled out the fact that the way in which we harmonize our internal financial objectives and external obligations has been a problem for years. He said that this year we must expect an approximahte 15-18 billion forints budget deficit which might make the achievement of our tasks next year more difficult.

[Kerekes] There is a great deal of impatience with the fact that resurgence is not progressing, the Central Committee secretary said. He pointed out that it must be accepted that a universal or fundamental change cannot be conceived within the next 2-3 years. On the other hand, he stressed in particular that the present one-sided restrictive tightening economic policy cannot be continued any longer.

[Balint] The second lecture of the morning discussed the forthcoming tasks of public education policy and the relationship of democracy and culture.

[Kerekes] Katalin Radics, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs Department, recalled that public opinion expects that even by the 2d day of the party conference, everything would be different, but time is needed for the process. There are institutions which react faster, while elsewhere such a contradictory situation exists, which is characterized by not yet but yes already. [sentence as heard] Katalin Radics said it is important that the party should also be open to the intelligentsia.

[Balint] Democracy and culture are traditionally interlinked. A democratic society cannot be formed without members of society having achieved a certain level of culture which makes it possible for them to find their way in the affairs of the world. Making culture a public treasure must be a permanent objective of a party operating on the basis of socialism. In this respect one must not reconcile oneself with the fact that the situation has not only not improved in relation to the past, but has also worsened. She also mentioned that we must not follow incorrect directions regarding the tasks of public education. An educational system acts correctly if it offers in excess of needs—the speaker's term.

[Kerekes] In what followed, Katalin Radics spoke about the need to level the differences in culturedness and other inequalities in opportunities. She repeated the earlier demand that by the end of the century the completion of secondary school education should become the norm.

Labor Affairs Official on Unemployment

AU0209115888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 88 p 6

[MTI report: "Statement at the State Office for Wages and Labor on Unemployment and Unemployment Benefits"]

[Text] Unemployment, which had been regarded for so long as irreconcilable with the basic principles of socialism, has appeared in the Hungarian economy too. Moreover, one can hear that 200,000 people might lose their jobs by the end of this decade. What unemployment rate should we taken into consideration, and what is labor management doing in order to ease the employment tensions? Jozsef Rozsa, head of a main department at the State Office for Wages and Labor, informed MTI correspondents about these problems.

Today, we can officially differentiate between two categories of unemployed: one group is made up of people who lost their jobs as a result of the elimination or restructuring of their enterprises, and, since there are no possibilities of reemployment in the area of their residence within a short time, they are eligible for the extension of their period of notice and for employment allowances for another 6 months. The other group is made up of all the other people who are unemployed for any different reasons and would like to get a job and therefore they registered with the labor exchange offices, including people who quit their old jobs by their own decision. The number of officially designated unemployed is between 10,000 and 15,000 people, and about 1,000-1,500 of them are eligible for state allowances, namely, the extension of their period of notice and employment benefits.

Economic restructuring has just started, and if this process accelerates, the number of unemployed will, no doubt, increase, but, according to Jozsef Rozsa, the aforementioned forecast of 200,000 is exaggerated.

However, we must prepare to provide adequate employment possibilities for the manpower released as a result of restructuring.

Available jobs constitute one of the conditions for this, and funds saved through the elimination of budget subsidies might serve as financial resources for the creation of jobs.

A system of unemployment benefits is in an advanced stage of preparation. There is a lot of debate on the formulation of the Council of Ministers' draft regulation concerning unemployment benefits. The regulation itself would make up 10-12 pages, but the additional observations and proposals coming from state and public bodies and enterprises already make up 150 pages. The analysis of this material is under way. As a result of the many observations and much debate about this issue, the labor affairs management thinks that a broader and real social debate will be necessary in the future in order to coordinate the different views.

Working out a system of unemployment benefits is necessary because the present system of state support for unemployed people is partly too limited and narrow in its scope, and partly extremely open-handed. Benefits for extended period of notice—an allowance that can already be called an unemployment benefit—are currently the same as the average wages, and this is unique in all the world.

The debate is about the extent of the changes. According to some opinions, this amount should not change; according to other opinions—primarily the opinions of state bodies and enterprises—unemployment benefits should not be higher than 60-70 percent of the average wages. The real proportion should be formulated somewhere between the two, with some sort of consensus, because these payments will be allocated from funds originating from the income tax of the population.

The most debated issue is who should be regarded as an unemployed person from the viewpoint of unemployment benefits: only people whose jobs have been eliminated, or also people who quit their jobs themselves or were dismissed for other, perhaps personal, reasons? The number of people who currently receive state allowances for unemployment is limited, and it should be increased. The question is whether this increase should represent completeness, including all the unemployed, or be progressive. No doubt, at one time we will reach completeness, because it is difficult to differentiate on a long-term basis between citizens according to the reasons for their unemployment. According to the position of the State Office for Wages and Labor, the current limited circle should already be increased and include skilled workers at the beginning of their careers who are unable to find a job after graduation.

We will have to provide adequate jobs in accordance with their skills to people who receive unemployment benefits. This does not mean that these jobs should necessarily be only in their professions, but, if opportunities arise, they should accept jobs that are close to their basic training and, thus, can be easily learned.

Job-creating investments will also continue in the future. This year, we have already supported the creation of some 5,000 new jobs by means of the employment fund, and this could be doubled next year. Another way of avoiding unemployment is to reorganize the school system and make sure that young people learn remunerative skills that are really sought after. The Ministry of Education will soon submit its concepts to the government on how to improve the secondary vocational school system, including such efforts.

We are thinking about how to eliminate the existing territorial tensions in manpower demand and supply. Long-term plans are considered for justified cases to make use of the employment fund to partly or fully cover the housing expenses of people who are unable to find jobs in their area of residence and who are much needed in other regions.

Balance of Payments Improve, Debts Decrease

AU2908183588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 88 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "Exchange Rate Changes in the International Financial World—Hungary's Foreign Debt Has Dropped—There Are No Essential Changes in Economic Processes"]

[Text] Answering questions from our correspondent, Ede Bako, the managing director of the Hungarian National Bank, told us about Hungary's balance of payments and its debt in the first half of the current year.

According to Ede Bako, our balance of payments was even more than at the same time last year. In the first 6 months of 1988, our deficit in convertible currency stood at $468 million, as compared to $813 million in the first half of 1987. The U.S. dollar indicator of our nonconvertible balance of payments also showed a favorable trend. In this area, we had a balance surplus of $110 million in the first half of 1987, which dropped to about half this amount at the end of June this year.

Hungary's overall debt dropped from $18.8 billion at the end of 1987 to $17.6 billion at the end of June 1988, and the debt that is in convertible currency dropped from $17.6 billion to $16.8 billion.

Ede Bako drew attention to the fact that the dollar indicator of our debts showed such changes because considerable changes in exchange rates were taking place in the international financial world. Thus, for example, in recent months the U.S. dollar has gained strength compared to the major national currencies, like the DM [Deutsche mark] and the yen. As a result of the currency structure of the Hungarian debts, these changes in the exchange rate had a favorable effect on our balance of payments. However, this does not mean that changes have already begun deep in the economic processes, changes that would already affect our debts.

As Ede Bako pointed out, the international financial world continues to view the Hungarian economy with expectations and to follow with attention the implementation of the government work program of stabilization and development.

Analyzing our situation from the viewpoint of banking experts, the economic performances of the first half of the current year have not led to major changes in the evaluation of Hungary's financial situation. Some foreign newspapers have even published pessimistic evaluations, but these are far from being the same as the international financial world's judgement. Under the same conditions we succeeded in obtaining the loans which the government had planned to use to maintain the operation of our economy and carry out a modest improvement.

Hungary's overall net debt dropped from $11.1 billion at the end of 1987 to $10.5 billion, and our debt accounted in convertible currency dropped from $10.9 billion to $10.3 billion in this period. This trend continued during the months of July and August 1988. At the same time, our assets and liabilities abroad have also decreased from $7.6 billion to $7.1 billion.

Difficulties in Trade With Bulgaria Reported

LD0509122188 Budapest MTI in English 1123 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 5, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary and Bulgaria have not signed an inter-state agreement for 1988. This has been unprecedented in the history of the Comecon.

In 1986 the value of Hungarian export was 206 million roubles and of Bulgarian export 202.9 million roubles.

In 1987 contracts were signed in a value of a total of 450 million roubles and the actual implementation of Hungarian export was 223 million roubles and imports 195 million roubles.

Bulgaria fell behind the contracts by a total of 70 million roubles which also included deliveries from the contracts of the previous year, while Hungary's lag in deliveries amounted to 50 million roubles.

The planned value of bilateral turnover was 370 million roubles in 1988, and 350 million roubles worth of contracts were signed in the first half of the year.

It is the practice in Hungarian-Bulgarian trade that important products are exchanged under so called "linked" agreements which the parties sign simultaneously in similar values. However, these agreements do not guarantee accurate deliveries. There are recurrent problems with the Bulgarian supply of calcinated soda for which Hungary is paying with aluminium products. Bulgaria signed an agreement to deliver 100,000 tons of soda in 1988 and an extra-quota supply of 20,000 tons was also agreed, but by the end of the year deliveries will be behind schedule with 15,000 to 20,000 of calcinated soda.

The Hungarian counter-value is 3,700 tons of aluminium ingots and 500 tons of rolled goods. Besides, Hungary is selling 800 tons of aluminium hydraulic components to Bulgaria a year.

The Bulgarian export to Hungary includes large quantities of basic materials, cadmium, zinc ingots and semi-products, copper and brass semi-products. As a rule, the Hungarian aluminium supply is linked to the purchase of non-ferrous metals.

Bulgaria insists on continuing to buy Hungarian Ikarus buses which they have been importing for twenty years. In addition, Bulgaria is importing also Hungarian engines, gear boxes and power steering units.

Hungary imports 1,800 diesel and electric trolleys annually, but deliveries are rather erratic. Also Bulgarian companies owe Hungary machine tools since 1986. The import of bathroom tiles, marble and glass bricks is also difficult at times.

Closing Document on Danube Barrages Prepared

LD0409142788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] The participants in the Budapest conference on the Danube barrages are now preparing the consultation's closing document, but what the document will contain is already general knowledge. Laszlo Gardai reports from the venue of the consultation.

[Gardai] It can only be hoped that after the 3-day debate, or consultation, the diverging stands will come somewhat closer to one another. On the basis of the some 30 lectures that have been heard to date, the draft closing document, on which there is debate at this very moment, has been created.

According to the thesis, the specialist opinions came about one by one after the decisions, as if to justify them. In connection with the expected effects on the enviroment, the document states that the enviromental damage and risks are extraordinary. The water supply of the Kisalfoeld region is in danger, owing to the damming up of the old Danube and its diversion into a side channel. As a consequence of the reconstruction, the water (?speed) would change; the water table would also be (?endangered). For this reason, the current flora would be replaced by a much poorer living system, the document emphasizes. Insofar as only one-twentieth of the current quantity of the Danube flowed in the old channel, it would lose its [words indistinct] character, which is guaranteed by several international agreements. The

thesis calls it economic absurdity for Hungary to deliver electrical energy to Austria, which in this regard is in a much more favorable situation.

The draft closing document takes the stand that the construction of the Boes-Nagymaros water barrage should be suspended. The alternative solutions should be worked out by foreign and Hungarian experts, and they should reveal these to the public. The final decision should be made by referendum.

International Conference on Danube River Dams
AU0709112588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Sep 88 p 5

[Ibolya Balint report: "International Conference in Budapest on Danube Dams"]

[Text] The Congress Hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was full on 2 September. The Danube Circle, with the cooperation of two international organizations, the World Wildlife Fund and the International Rivers Network, organized a conference here on the river dams on the Danube. Dr Janos Szentagothai, retired president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, gave an opening lecture on the first day of the conference. He mentioned, among other things, that the public had been completely excluded from the planning, research, and the investment decision concerning the Bos-Nagymaros river dam system, and he himself was responsible for this in his own area, but he wished to discuss this at another forum. Besides, he has economic problems with this investment. Better late than never, he quoted the saying, but he also drew the audience's attention to the need to think with their minds and not with their emotions, and he said there was no need for accusations and searching for those responsible at all costs. The goal now was to listen to the speakers and draw the necessary lessons from what they hear.

Academician Arpad Berczik, head of the Ecological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, added things along the same line in his opening speech. He stressed that the most important contribution of the conference was the lectures given by the experts, because we can also learn new ideas from their experiences. Arpad Berczik pointed out that it was the responsibility of the representatives of each professional area to provide correct information to all the experts in order to formulate a correct attitude, opinion, and judgment free of professional exaggeration.

He also drew attention to the fact that it is a serious problem for people to arbitrarily want to reduce the importance of ecology, to distort it, or to degrade it to an empty slogan or a soothing dope for the society that is concerned about its environment. Such an unscientific and unscrupulous procedure could lead to the wrong feeling that ecology is an unpleasant obstacle hindering a sober decision, rather than a science that lays the foundations for an environmental regulation strategy aimed at preserving a long-term harmonious relationship between man and his environment. In the conclusion of his speech, Arpad Berczik also appealed to his audience for a high-level professional debate.

The first to criticize the world of dams and the dams of the world was the British expert Nicholas Hildyard. He was followed by Erika Schneider of the FRG, who reported about the considerably negative results of environmental tests in connection with the river dams on the Rhine. Dr Nino Kuhn of Switzerland spoke about the environmental conflicts produced by the Swiss hydroelectric power plants. Hungarian expert Andras Gabriel lectured about the damaging environmental effects of the Kiskore river barrage scheme. Dr Heinz Loffler of Austria discussed the problems of the Danube dams in Austria and Karl Wagner of Austria spoke about the Danube-Mura-Thaya National Park.

OPZZ Resolution on Reform Implementation

No-Confidence Vote for Government

LD0609224688 Warsaw PAP in English
2143 GMT 6 Sep 88

["OPZZ Resolution on Reform's Implementation (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sep, 6—The Council of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) approves as a whole of contents included in the assessment by the OPZZ Executive Committee Secretariat of the implementation of the economic reform and price-income policy in the first half of 1988.

Taking into account, among other things, contents included in the statement by OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz at the 8th PUWP CC plenary meeting, stands of national trade union organizations, opinions voiced by meetings of representatives of plant trade union organizations from 210 Poland's largest factories and voivodship agreements of trade unions, the OPZZ Council expresses a vote of no-confidence for the Polish Government and awaits its resignation.

Members of the council as representatives of the electorate ask the deputies to the Sejm (Polish parliament) to voice during the next Sejm session a vote of no-confidence for the government.

In case the Polish Government does not resign, the OPZZ Executive Committee is obliged to take up appropriate steps.

'No Reason for 2d Trade Unions in Enterprise'

LD0609181988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] The Council of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] today passed two resolutions, the first on the matter of the implementation of the economic reform and prices and incomes policy. It expresses a vote of no confidence for the government and awaits its dismissal. Simultaneously, the members of the council turned to Sejm deputies among the group of union deputies for the presentation of a vote of no confidence at the coming session [as heard] of the Sejm. In the case of the government not presenting itself for dismissal, the Executive Committee of the OPZZ is obliged to undertake the appropriate actions.

The OPZZ Council also passed a resolution on the matter of trade union pluralism. It said, among other things, that the bases of the activity of the independent and self-governing trade unions are their registered statutes. They guarantee the democratic principles of selection of the authorities, independence and self-governance, and full freedom of expression of views. Every person engaged in union problems and the defense of the workers' interests can join them, actively take part, and shape the program, forms of work, and make-up of the union authorities. With this state of affairs, there is no reason and no social pressure for the sanctioning of a second trade union in an enterprise.

The council expressed support for the idea of roundtable talks and declared active participation therein. It simultaneously stated that roundtable talks cannot substitute for a credible government and the efficient management of the national economy.

Unions Should Decide Own Fate

LD0609225188 Warsaw PAP in English
2155 GMT 6 Sep 88

["OPZZ Resolution on Union Pluralism (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—

1. The ground for activities of the independent and self-governing trade unions are their registered statutes, which were worded during discussions of our crews. They guarantee principles of democratic elections of authorities, independence and selfgovernment, full freedom of expression. Everyone may be active, shape the programme and the composition of union authorities. In this state of affairs there are no premises and social reasons to sanction a second trade union in an enterprise.

2. The council expresses support for the idea of "round table" talks. We declare our active participation in it. We are of the opinion that the debates at this forum should deal with problems concerning state and economic issues and efficient execution of power. We declare that no "round table" talks will substitute a credible government and the efficient steering of the national economy. Independent, selfgoverning trade unions are of the opinion that their fate may and should be decided upon exclusively by themselves. Everyone who holds talks concerning trade unions without our participation loses our confidence and support.

3. Perceiving the necessity for sweeping changes in all fields of life, we are of the opinion that also the trade union movement should draw conclusions from the arisen situation. That is why we are open to all proposals increasing the efficiency of union activities.

Zdunska Wola Transport Workers Call Off Strike

AU0609202088 Paris AFP in English
1938 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 6 (AFP)—Bus drivers in the small town of Zdunska Wola on Tuesday called off their strike after a day's stoppage, informed sources on the spot said.

The 200-odd employees of the municipal transport company in the town of 38,000 people in central Poland had started a spontaneous strike as the rest of the country was returning to work.

The bus drivers said they would resume their strike Monday if their demands for higher pay were not met.

Szczecin Transportation Working Normally

LD0609192088 Warsaw PAP in English
1814 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Szczecin, Sept. 6—After over two weeks of strike in the local bus depot in the city district of Dabie, where some 200 busses were being blocked, the city transport was already functioning normally today in the Szczecin agglomeration.

Tuesday was a normal day of work for the Szczecin public transport enterprise. Full personnel operation made it possible to run bus lines with usual frequency.

Solidarity Accuses State of Blocking Negotiations

AU0709102288 Paris AFP in English
1009 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 7 (AFP) - The outlawed trade union Solidarity on Wednesday accused the Polish leadership of "arrogantly" seeking to block meaningful negotiations between the government and the opposition.

In a communique issued here, Solidarity lashed out at statements made Tuesday by government spokesman Jerzy Urban, who said the government would neither legalize Solidarity nor hold direct talks with its members.

Solidarity also expressed concern over the "dishonest" way in which the official media have reported the wave of labor unrest that has rocked Poland over the past weeks.

"Strikers have been offended by official propaganda," the statement added.

It charged that the authorities had "exploited" last week's "accidental death" of a plainclothes police officer at the strike-hit southeastern Stalowa Wola steelworks.

According to unconfirmed reports, police Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz, 38, shot himself in the head when strikers discovered his true identity and were forcing him to leave the plant.

Mr. Urban said Tuesday that the results of the official autopsy would only be available in two weeks.

The Solidarity statement also accused the authorities of using repressive measures against strikers despite guarantees given to workers.

Strikers' Communique on Militia Death Viewed

LD0609201588 Warsaw PAP in English
1858 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] WArsaw, Sept. 6—The strike committee of the Stalowa Wola steel mill in a special comunique propagated, among others, by Western Polish-language radio stations, dissociates itself from any responsibility whatsoever for the death of a People's Militia officer, Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz, who died on August 31st from a shot to the head while on duty inside the striking [word indistinct] Stalowa Wola steel mill.

An intensive investigation into the case is continuing. Up to now it has been established that the shot was fired while Lieut. Turbakiewicz was being evicted by the strikers from the plant and the bullet struck him in the back of the head.

It is also known that on the same day the strikers evicted five other militia officers, legally inside the mill with the director's approval. Let us add here that the steel mill which works for the defence industry is a militarized enterprise.

The strikers claim that 38-year-old Lieut. Turbakiewicz, the father of a 10-year-old son, shot himself and some claim that he was drunk at the moment of the tragedy. On the other hand, an autopsy carried out on September 2 showed that Lieut. Turbakiewicz was beaten up before his death.

In its communique the strike committee does not, for a single moment, wonder about the moral and purely human side of the tragedy. Silence over the coffin would be the most convenient solution for its members. But is this attitude shared by the thousands of people who took part in Turbakiewicz's funeral and Poles all over Poland who berieve over the unnecessary tragedy.

Jaruzelski Defends Urban Against Critics

LD0609212288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] [Presenter] As every week, Minister Jerzy Urban met with domestic and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center at a press conference today. Our program was as ever represented by Marek Kassa. What was talked about today?

[Kassa] The main topic of the conference was the matter of calling a roundtable. Replying to numerous questions, the spokesman recalled the circumstances that led to the rise of this initiative and also addressed the numerous controversies on the subject of the final make-up of the participants of these talks. He stressed earlier that the roundtable talks will not take part with the participation of the former leadership of Solidarity, but with particular figures from this circle, who will sit amid other, politically varied partners.

[Presenter] And was not Minister Urban questioned at this conference as to the possibility of his resignation?

[Kassa] This topic was not talked about today, but in any case the foreign correspondents and domestic journalists would probably not want this very much. Jerzy Urban after all passes on a lot of information and is also a superb partner for the journalists, one with whom one might sometimes not agree but who it is difficult not to value. Rather, complaints regarding the spokesman are probably put forward outside of the journalistic milieu. One could for instance have heard them at the FSO Car Factory in Warsaw during the visit there by Wojciech Jaruzelski. I propose that we listen to what the leader of our country then said to these charges. I apologize in advance for the poor quality of the recording.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Of course, everyone can have his own evaluation of the activity of this spokesman, his own personal relationship thereto—like or dislike. Obviously, these things exist, but I think that everyone who objectively, without emotion, with a certain distance, looks at this matter, will admit that not only Poland, but I will be bold enough to state, Europe and the world have such spokesmen. Everyone admits this. Urban today is a person exceptionally valued and appreciated far beyond the borders of our country as a man of great nerve, eloquence, intelligence, and openness in addressing all these matters.

Well, you know, every activity of this sort, every activity like this on the proscenium carries with it a certain margin of risk; it carries side effects. Not everyone can be satisfied. That for instance which some acknowledge as correct others deem incorrect. Of course, I feel that slips are also made in the same way by the spokesman, but I don't know whether it would be just to conclude from this that this is a bad spokesman and that it would be appropriate to change him; that he will be responsible like—I read various interviews in the West, and not only in the West—the spokesman replies: yes, no, thank you, I have nothing to say, I cannot comment, the decision has not yet been made, and so on. [sentence as heard] For, after all, I feel that this man should be looked after [atrzeba tego czlowieka szanowac] for his great courage; he is in fact taking upon himself odium and much criticism, but he nonetheless very widely, often controversially, informs society. He speaks of such things that no one would ever read about and believe. And so, if you would agree with my opinion then we should recognize the values of this activity, while admitting that where errors are committed, where certain judgments are formulated a little too brusquely, this should be avoided. But even in this brusqueness there is a certain charm [urok]. I think that if he were to do this all so smoothly, elegantly, and pleasantly, then I think this would be less listened to. [end recording]

Jerzy Urban's 6 Sep Press Conference

LD0609204388 Warsaw PAP in English 1446 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Issues connected with the expected round-table talks dominated today's government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban's conference who also once again returned to last week's Kiszczak-Walesa meeting. Urban also presented, in numerical terms, the losses caused by the recent strikes, discussed the idea of the national conciliation council, informed the participants about the investigation into the death of Lieutenant Turbakiewicz, commented on the visit to Poland by General L. Rowny, President Ronald Reagan's and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's special arms control advisor, which ended Monday.

At the beginning of the conference Urban replied to numerous questions, earlier sent in to his office, from the Polish press, citizens and various organizations. Kiszczak-Walesa Meeting [subhead]

Asked why he did not pre-announce the meeting between Kiszczak and Walesa, which had been scheduled to take place last Wednesday, during last week's conference, Urban replied:

Since the meeting was discussed through mediators and last week it was still uncertain whether it would take place. A public announcement could have torpedoed it. However, I spoke about preparations for a round-table meeting. The meeting between General Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa, attended by Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski and Stanislaw Ciosek was a manifestation of these preparations. General Kiszczak's statement was announced prior to the meeting. I explained that the formula of the announcement contained an invitation which could also have included Lech Walesa. Therefore, the meeting itself was not anything sudden or surprising for the public opinion. The offer contained in General Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement was made at a time when the August strikes began to wane, failing to get wider support. The number of striking coalmines had radically fallen already at that time.

Urban recalled that Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak met with Lech Walesa from the moment of announcing martial law already for the second time. The first meeting took place in the autumn of 1982 in Arlamowo. As a result Lech Walesa returned to Gdansk, to his home, to his work in the shipyard. Is Walesa a Private Person [subhead]

Urban was reminded that he hitherto spoke about Walesa as a private person. The spokesman said:

There is nothing insulting in the "private person" term. We speak about Lech Walesa as a private person to stress that at present, contrary to years 1980-81 we do not regard him as the chairman of Solidarnosc which lost the legal foundations for its existence.

We conducted political struggle with former leaders of "Solidarnosc" because they led it. Pluralism, dialogue, aspiration for agreement in fact are not an opposition to the political struggle. We shall hold talks with people respecting moderation, realism, respect for the Constitution, negotiate with them, I hope, come to terms with them for the good of Poland and at the same time argue and struggle.

Pluralism will not take the form of an artificial peace or the erasing of contradictions.

The criticism of the groups of former leaders of "Solidarnosc" was not motivated by the defence of the position of authorities. The most fierce criticism on our part concerned their support for economic restrictions directed at all the Poles, the non-Polish sources of political inspiration and material support for some activists of former "Solidarnosc". We did not and shall not agree with this kind of dependence of allegedly independent forces. Polemics resulted from these attitudes which have an anti-national flavour and harm the interests of the Polish society and our state.

For many years, I have raised concrete and documented objections against Lech Walesa and his allies. In turn I was in the focus of personal attacks on the part of Western radio stations, for instance.

As it was stressed by Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Warsaw-based car factory (FSO), political attitudes and situations change and so do people on both sides when they mature to cooperation. It is aimed at the agreement for the good of the country.

At present, after Lech Walesa had met with General Kiszczak and called for the conclusion of the strikes, part of its hitherto adherents assessed him critically, passed a vote of no-confidence. On the other hand some members of the party also critically, distrustfully assessed the Kiszczak-Walesa meeting. Many adherents of the authorities' policy displayed a shock, bitterness and lack of understanding for what is going on. Some express an opinion that their attitude of support for our policy was injured that, speaking straight away, they were cheated.

One should understand such fears and doubts stemming from a vivid memory of the developments of the year 1981. It is necessary to prove in practice that the then dangerous accumulation of confrontation shall not recur.

The course of events requires patient explanation and straightening such fears. There has been no shocking turn in our policy. Our patient policy of openess in a natural way entered the stage when its continuation needs the widening of scope of talks to seek agreement with the widest forces of realism ready to give priority of the interest of the country over quarrels and divisions.

The recent developments, the organization of the "round table" meetings are the signs of transformations in Poland's internal policy, which are a natural consequence of the policy of agreement adjusted to the present-day needs of the country and the maturity of attitudes. Did Martial Law Make Any Sense [subhead]

Absolutely yes. Martial law was a necessity. Without it Poland would have followed the road of confrontation, not conciliation. Thanks to the introduction of martial law, through various stages, consecutive amnesties, democratizing reforms—arose the situation making today's sitting down at a table possible. A wider than hitherto scope of conciliation is becoming real. Martial law initiated the sobering up of part of the leaders of the former "Solidarnosc." It induced some of them to moderate their aspirations and to realism. Martial law ended the polarization of forces which formed an uncompromising front of struggle against the socialist state. It created conditions for the stabilization of the state and only in such conditions can opposition be a creative factor. Who Will Sit at the Round Table [subhead]

Urban said that "we want to meet at a round table as quickly as possible, as soon as everyone is ready" and added that the authorities aim was to convene such a meeting still this month. The "table" would group several dozen people. At the present moment various indispensable preparatory work [as received] is underway which mainly concerns the composition of the future meeting.

The round-table talks will not be held with the former "Solidarnosc" leadership but, among others, with individual personalities from this circle. They will sit down among others, politically varied partners. The goal of the debates will be reaching an agreement so that attitudes of constructive opposition are expressed in co-responsibility for the Polish state.

The "round-table", we expect, should contribute to the creation of a permanent national conciliation council. Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed its establishment in a Sejm address already seven years ago, on October 39, 1981, but that proposal was then actually rejected by "Solidarnosc," the main force at the time to which the General addressed the offer. General Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed, at the same time, that nobody held a monopoly for infallibilty and that the fate of the country must be connected with a democratic evolution. This line is invariable. Martial law, the evolutionary development in the following years of democratic institutions and practices, as well as the various difficult experiences of those years, formed the grounds for the forms of widening the political base of governing which are presently being initiated.

Asked what would happen to the round table and its results if during its debates there will be another wave of strikes with political demands, Urban said:

If these were political strikes meaning that force is being used to support the aspirations of some participants of the round table, the round-table debates would be immediately broken down.

If strikes were instigated by extreme forces aimed to stop the agreement, and thus objectively aimed against participants of the round table, then the situation could be qualitatively different. What Did the Authorities Oblige Themselves To [subhead]

To nothing more than that announced in advance in General Kiszczak's statement. The authorities obliged themselves to organize without any pre-conditions, the round table which will make it possible to discuss any topic.

After the meeting with General Kiszczak, Lech Walesa announced that he would table the problem of the existence of "Solidarnosc". The opinion of authorities on the subject, defined by the 8th PUWP CC Plenum has been known in advance.

Nothing that concerns the trade unions will not be decided on without trade unions, mostly affiliated in OPZZ, themselves.

This does not mean that the scope of topics will be limited to the trade unions' issue. This will not make the only subject. The round table will discuss many topics of crucial significance for the country. One can expect a discussion on forms of political pluralism constructed on the basis of the principals of a socialist country and their development, on democratic evolution of the state's structures, on cooperation with factors representing constructive opposition. On this platform, we intend to build an alliance for the reform and immediate improvement of economic situation. Finally, it is possible to presume that discussed will be methods of reaching the agreement and its forms such as the council for national agreement. Constructive and Destructive Opposition [subhead]

As far as destructive and constructive opposition is concerned there still exists such groups and people who fulfil a destructive role. But there are also groups and persons who are abandoning previous uncompromising attitudes or create hopes of doing so. Such people and groups must be attracted, not pushed away. Our approach to various groups and people is also changing, it is becoming less narrow, more open. In short, both sides are gaining more and more reason. What Do the Authorities Want To Agree On [subhead]

How to accelerate the economic reform, make it more effective. How to establish a pro-reform alliance. By what means to improve society's material living conditions. How to govern and plan the future. How to widen democracy so that it strengthens the Polish state and its position in the world. Dozens of concrete issues fall within this range of subjects.

Work is continuing on the timetable of moves and events, which will outline new, bold democratic transformations in Poland, for example, a new draft law on associations and electoral law, second chamber in parliament, the office of president. We hold the opinion that the round-table meetings will help in the creation of the national conciliation council.

[Text] On Lieut. Turbakiewicz's Death [subhead]

The tragic death of militia Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz caused by a shot in the head in the "Stalowa Wola" steel mill during the illegal strike there continues to be the subject matter of an investigation.

The events are being established. A team of experts from the medical academy in Lublin is carrying out a specialistic examination of the gunshot wound. The examination may last for another two weeks.

It has been established that the death of Lieut. Turbakiewicz was related to removing him by the striking workers from the plant by force amid hostile shouts and gestures.

Rzeszow-based NOWINY daily published a report which illustrated the physical and moral torture by the striking workers of the groups of militia functionaries who guarded the arms production departments in the plant and did not interfere in the strikes. This has been a picture of the wild state and the fact is that it is related to the tragic death of the man.

A communique was read from the pulpits of churches in Stalowa Wola and in the nearby region. It included foregone conclusions as to the results of the investigation while claiming that it was a suicide and guilty of the death were the late lieutenant and militia as an institution. The communique used sharp words, including slanders against the press, security forces and the dead man.

In face of these hasty enunciations and acts of what I call the barrage defense, I want to state the following:

The authorities are waiting for the outcomes of the investigation. I want to stress, however, that the state authorities treat the tragic death of Lieut. Turbakiewicz on duty with great seriousness. All over the world, a tragic death of a policeman on duty is apart from that treated as an assault on significant values and goods of the stately rank. Such a treatment will be also given to the death of Lieut. Turbakiewicz. Strike Losses [subhead]

The total losses were estimated at 49 billion 300 million zlotys. Dollar losses amount to approximately 18 million dollars. The total is made up, among other things, of the following:

A loss of about 844,5 thousand tons of coal worth nearly 11 billion zlotys including a loss of 16.5 million dollars. Losses in the production of coke and metallurgical products resulting mainly from smaller coke supplies. The production losses by coal and metallurgical product recipients are estimated to total 30 billion zlotys.

The direct losses in the shipyards, ports and city transportation, as well as losses in railway and bus cargo transportation amount to over 5 billion zlotys and 750 thousand dollars.

Over 49 billion zlotys and about 18 million dollars are sums which do not fully reflect the blow suffered by the weak, after all, Polish economy. Poland's credibility as a coal exporter, regained with difficulty after 1981, has also been undermined. It is a fact that the weak Polish economy suffered another blow and that some of its segments have become destabilized. This is a result of the very irresponsible activities of generally small parts of workforces which made work for whole enterprises and the majority of their colleagues impossible. Walesa's Interview for Voice of America [subhead]

Asked to comment on Walesa's statement made in an interview for the Voice of America in which he said that talks on the subject of re-legalising "Solidarnosc" will start in the nearest 10 days, Urban said: I know that Lech Walesa wants to raise this subject. The issue will be discussed with differences of opinions of both sides. The Influence of Other Countries [subhead]

Asked what influence did the countries of the Eastern block or from the West have on the ending of the strikes, Urban said that there was no influence from abroad. What Walesa Is Saying [subhead]

We gladly lend our ear to conciliatory and not confrontational statements. We are aware that in labour issues there exist differences between Alfred Miodowicz's views and those of the opposition.

National Conciliation Council [subhead]

The National Conciliation Council will perform a significant mission in the building of conciliation, in the development of democratization, it can co-work out, for example, the electoral law, amendments to the Constitution and co-participate in a number of other fundamental issues for the country's life. Will a National Confidence Government Be Created [subhead]

Every government in Poland must enjoy confidence. Thus, this name would seem correct in any circumstances. Changes in the Penitentiary System [subhead]

Urban was asked to comment on a report prepared by a certain Prof. Schwartz who Poland last year. [sentence as heard] Urban said:

The penitentiary system in Poland is and will be the subject of reforms. They will be furthered by the evolutionary tendencies in the penal policy aimed at limiting the number of prisoners and the application of substitute penalties. What the Government Is Doing [subhead]

Asked what the government was doing after the recent criticism from the plenum and the Extraordinary Sejm Committee, Urban said that it (the government) was making decisions aimed at energetically ripping the corset stifling individual and social initiative. Such decisions were the subject, among other things, of yesterday's Council of Ministers' meeting. Orzechowski's Article [subhead]

Urban addressed himself to the thesis in Marian Orzechowski's article in today's TRYBUNA LUDU in which the author states that the party and the government are not one and the same thing. Urban shared the opinion that the division of powers between the party and government was not something ideal, that it must undergo significant changes. Are People Being Drafted [subhead]

Urban said that nobody was being drafted in breech of the existing law. In all certainty the Army cannot draft anyone who does not fall under this law.

Who Supports Solidarity [subhead]

Studies on this subject do not contain such simple questions. There are people who feel a sentiment to their past. People who are confident in Walesa, are another thing. Thus, there is no categorical answer here. General Rowny's Visit [subhead]

Talks with special arms control adviser to President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz, General Edward L. Rowny were significant in connection with Polish disarmament initiatives and particularly those concerning the armaments in the European scale.

They produced a posibility for a direct exchange of views with an outstanding American expert which makes it easier for us to more precisely define our initiatives, to get to know the opinions of the second side and to probe the chances. Is Minister Sharon Visiting Poland. [subhead]

While answering the question, Urban said that Israeli Minister Sharon is paying a visit to Poland but he is on a private tourist trip. How Many Trade Unions in One Plant [subhead]

Asked whether possible will be the existence of more than one trade union in a plant, Urban quoted an appropriate trade union's resolution and said that from its definition it ensues that the name of "Solidarnosc" has been joined with the notion of a political movement and therefore it is impossible for new trade unions to take the name.

Former "Solidarnosc" activists can form new trade unions in a plant and if they are in the majority that can shape such a formula of the trade union as wanted by the majority of the employees.

Politburo's 30 Aug Session Reviewed
AU0609125888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] PAP—At its session on 30 August, the eve of the anniversary of the signing of the August accords, the PZPR Politburo said that the justified workers protest of the time, plus the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, had commenced a new stage in the history of People's Poland. The party, unchangingly pursuing its policy of socialist renewal and national accord, intended then and still intends today to implement the justified postulates of working people and overcome everything that impedes this implementation. Nevertheless, the attainment of many complex objectives over the past period has been unsuccessful. The effectiveness of action was restricted by various internal and external factors. But even so, more could have been done and greater transformations could have been achieved, especially in the economy.

The Politburo assessed the country's sociopolitical situation. The great damage wrought by the strikes and the continuation of some strikes have created a threat to the economy, state, and social calm. This also affects the possibility of expanding dialogue and extending the platforms of national accord. Expecting favorable changes in this situation, and after hearing a report on the preparations to hold the "roundtable" talks, the Politburo approved the work of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, and considered it expedient to continue the task entrusted to him.

During the Seventh and Eighth Central Committee Plenums, an in-depth analysis was made of the causes and nature of the shortcomings and the lack of consistency in implementing the economic reform and introducing democratic changes. This was a comprehensive and very critical analysis. It involved every party body and every level of state and economic administration, especially their leaderships. As a result, concrete activity was presented in the reports, the first secretary's speech, and the resolution of the eighth plenum. An immediate start has been made on implementing them. In order for these undertakings to succeed, it is essential that working people understand the enormity of the tasks and take energetic part in performing them.

Party organizations and the state and economic administration should also support initiatives presented by work forces, self-management bodies, and trade unions; and react quickly to any demands or signals that indicate irregularities.

The Politburo said that it is essential to make a detailed analysis of the various violations and deviations from the principles of justice, especially in work places. It said that the reasons for them, the people responsible for them, and the ways of eliminating them must be made known. These deviations are usually not the result of systemic solutions, but the result of distortions in daily practice. The Politburo decided to examine at a future meeting the implementation of the resolution of the 16th Central Committee Plenum, known as the workers plenum.

The Politburo acquainted itself with the country's economic situation and a government report on increasing and accelerating market supplies. It drew the attention of administrative leaderships to the need to speed up work on the analysis of living costs that is being made together with the OPZZ. These topics will be the subject of a joint Politburo-OPZZ Executive Committee session in September.

The Politburo called for concrete decisions in order to bring wages and prices under control. It defined ways of effectively implementing the eighth plenum resolution concerning the economy. It lent its support to the idea of further increasing working people's role in managing their enterprises. For this purpose, state administrative bodies should remove the various obstacles that hamper the development of workers self-management bodies. In particular, self-management bodies of coal miners must be expanded.

Party organizations and cells should firmly support the removal of the bureaucratic barriers to economic activity, inventiveness, and enterprise.

The Politburo discussed the provisions of the plan to consolidate the national economy over the period 1989-90.

The Politburo examined preparations for the new school year. Over 250,000 more children and young people will commence or resume their education than last year. Despite this, working conditions in schools will not deteriorate. Supplies of textbooks for elementary schools are good. Problems with educational cadres are diminishing, thanks to wage decisions and work on a new system of teachers wages. Changes in teacher training have been commenced. A new code for schoolchildren is being introduced. Work on increasing parents influence over the life of the school is at an advanced stage.

The Politburo said that in order to consolidate these positive trends, it is exceedingly important to complete in good time school investment programs; introduce stable principles governing the financing of educational establishments; and improve the system of management over education, decentralize it, and involve society in it.

Work on modernizing the school system is underway. A concept will be presented by a commission of experts in national education before the end of the year.

National education, said the Politburo, is and will remain a subject of constant party concern and will be considered one of the most important of national affairs.

Orzechowski Reviews Politburo Meeting

LD0609200488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] [Presenter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. To begin with, some remarks about the meeting of the party Central Committee Politburo.

[Begin Orzechowski recording] (?Speaking) of the implementation of the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, item one is the conclusions from the recent meetings of the party leadership with workforces and the aktiv. This is already a tradition, but this time they were exceptional meetings, of a very high temperature, frank, and very instructive. We will be continuing them. What are the conclusions? Concerning known matters, that is, better supplies to the market, better work by offices and the administration, relations in workplaces, and economies in administration—I said known matters, but this time the Politburo states specifically who is to do what, and when, and for what he will be responsible and with whom the accounts will be settled. The most important, basic concern is what must be done for those efforts not to be destroyed by the spiral of prices and wages. And in this sphere, a special role falls also to self-management, trade unions, and social organizations.

Item two: The roundtable. We are treating the matter very seriously. We see in the course and results of the roundtable a chance to create a broad coalition of pro-reform, pro-socialist forces. We see a chance to gather together all those who want the economic and political reforms in Poland to run in accordance with the aspirations, strivings, and feelings of our society.

Item three: Preparations for the academic year. The working conditions of higher schools are hard. We know this. What should be done to make the work of higher schools easier? How are the reserves, which exist inside and outside the universities, to be used? How should the teaching and training process and the scientific research process be streamlined? How should student self-management and intrauniversity democracy be developed and improved? How, within the means at our disposal, are the living conditions of staff and students to be improved?

And finally, item five: Party work. How is its capability of action, its effectiveness of action, to be increased? How is the link between the party leadership and the aktiv, with the members, with society, to be improved and made more efficient? How can one tune in effectively to the feelings of society, react to them, and implement (?them) [end recording]

Politburo on Sociopolitical Situation 6 Sep

LD0609192788 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept, 6—PUWP CC Political Bureau met here today to assess the socio-political situation in the land. The bureau with particular attention discussed the ways of the full and punctual realization of the resolution of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum and execution of responsibility for the materialization of its decisions.

The Political Bureau familiarized itself with preparations for the academic year 1988-89, including the plans for making the scientific-didactic process more efficient, developing self-management and improving material situation of the scientific cadres and students.

'Consensus Dialogue Group' Issues Statement

LD0609161100 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The Secretariat of the Consensus Dialogue Group, at its widened sitting devoted to the assessment of the current situation in Poland, has issued the following statement:

We welcome with satisfaction the conciliatory, nonviolent settlement of social conflicts. We have always considered that only the dialogue of all social forces may lead to the resolution of the Polish problems. We note with appreciation and respect the mediatory and mitigating role of the church, the statement reads.

We greet with satisfaction the outcome of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum which has opened new possibilities for dialogue with the circles of constructive opposition. On our side, as we have declared several times, we express readiness to do anything which can make for the most favourable atmosphere of this dialogue. As a group consisting of people with varying world outlooks which has been acting for national agreement since 1981 we welcome with satisfaction the idea of round-table talks which reflects the pluralistic character of Polish society and provides grounds for hoping that the way to the real subjectivity of the society will be opened. We also have considerable expectations concerning the initiative of creating the council for national agreement, the document continues.

The social conflict has been staved off but the problems which had caused it remain. We do not see the possibilities for the country's breaking out of the acute social and political crisis if the problems are not resolved, the statement says.

Eighth Plenum Floor Speeches Reported

AU0209150188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 88 pp 6-11

[Unattributed roundup of speeches from the floor of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August: "Plenary Discussion"]

[Text] We present below unauthorized abridged versions of speeches during the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum:

Bogdan Borys, Central Committee member, metallurgical equipment mechanic at the B. Bierut Steelworks in Czestochowa: The steelworkers of "Bierut" did not strike, despite strong pressure from the political adversary. Our party committee and leadership have passed their test. But the situation among the work force is still tense and complicated. Many of our steelworkers do not support the present strike method of protest. One can present one's problems in a different way. But there are strike sympathizers among the steelworkers, people who are eager to disrupt work and who can see from past experience that one can settle things if one strikes.

Today, both these professional groups, in other words the supporters and opponents of the strikes, are joined by the conviction that the government's incompetence of action is the cause of many economic failures and difficulties and wasted years. That is how society assesses the present situation, whether we like it or not. It is blaming the government, and even calling for a change in the governing team.

People and society identify the party with the government and the authorities, and blame our party for all shortcomings and imperfections. The views of party members and workers are no different from those of nonparty steelworkers.

Class assessments are straightforward, uncompromising, and unequivocal. Hence, people insist on drawing conclusions about erroneous action, ineffective decisions, and inconsistency. Workers are not bloodsuckers and do not demand cutting off heads just for the sake of principles. But they do want an improvement to the economy, proper forms of distribution, and results in socialist management.

Here we have been provided with a panacea for economic troubles in the form of proposals to freeze prices and wages. Perhaps this has its good points, but I feel there are more bad points. After all, our concern is that wages serve as an incentive. Greater production requires greater effort, and therefore greater renumeration. Greater effort must be better paid.

I have one more doubt: Are we prepared for a wage and price freeze today? The private sector is not taking part in this process. In this way we are creating a new wave of social dissatisfaction, stemming from social injustice.

As a member of the Central Committee, I am a part of the authorities. Following today's plenum it is also expected from me that the decisions adopted will conform to the expectations of the workers class and whole of society.

As our party's central aktivs, we should respect each other and accept criticism from one another, however harsh it may be. We should not succumb to emotion. What I mean is that we should become credible and concrete in action. And all this will have a bearing on the consolidation of our party ranks and on society's confidence in us.

Eryka Gorajek, Central Committee member and foreman at the "Stomil" tire plant in Grudziadz: It is with uneasiness and great concern that our work force, 60 percent of it female, approaches the present situation. People realize that the strikes are wrecking the country, causing moral losses, and, what is worse, are threatening the continuing process of reform.

But what is it that disturbs the workers the most? Our work force says that lawlessness has taken root in some sectors of our life. We firmly criticize the fact that the government and some enterprise managements are conceding to the economic demands, and chiefly wage demands, of the illegal strikers and of those that are undertaking protest action.

These concessions show that there are possibilities for wage increases, that various forms of protest are an effective argument in favor of improving one's way of life. Work and work results do not count here, and threats of strikes bring about the satisfaction of workers demands.

Once again it will be a long time before confidence in undertaken activity is restored. Today there really is a lack of convincing arguments in order to answer the question of what to do next, and this lack of answers is arousing fear among the work force.

A letter to PZPR members is supposed to alleviate this situation to a certain extent. However, it is hard to find the strength to act if we write in this letter that there really is reason to be dissatisfied, that life is very difficult, that the market is very shaky, and that the standard of living is dropping. How is one supposed to convince workers when these workers are saying: What are we supposed to put in our pots if there is no meat in Grudziadz? What are we to put on our bread if there is no bread and sausage? How are we to do our washing if there is no cheap detergent?

If the law and the adopted reform principles do not suit life and do not conform to society's feeling of justice, then changes ought to be made. But no one should ever be allowed to cause a situation like the present one with

impunity. This situation did not arise on its own and did not arise today. It is the result of someone's action, so there has to be responsibility for its effects.

In "Stomil," no one denies the need for the reform, but there is discord between declarations and practice. The same things are being repeated. We have already done our homework on the subject of incompetence, and the solutions that have been applied so far are clearly failures and will not achieve the expected improvement. They are too ambiguous, and the line of sociopolitical policy is incomprehensible.

The economic policy pursued by the center and its bodies is making it impossible to undertake action that complies with the spirit of the reform. Many of the legal instruments that have been enacted are depriving the work forces of the fruits of their work. One of many examples of this is the so-called equalization tax. One can give many more examples. Despite assurances to the contrary, rules with retroactive validity are still being introduced.

Finally, let me ask: How can one propagate the reform and speak on behalf of it when our standard of living is getting worse all the time? I am a worker. How am I to explain to my work force and colleagues that although the reform is apparently being implemented, this is refuted by the visible facts and everyday reality?

Zenon Zmudzinski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee: We ought to consider today's plenum as a clear continuation of the seventh plenum. Two months ago from this rostrum, both the Politburo report and many speeches by Central Committee members referred to the chief weaknesses in implementing the reform. However, there was no change to the line of implementing the reform, nor was the party and the political and social forces made energetic enough to find new forms of dialogue and political practice.

There is no doubt that the latest wave of strikes is political in nature and that the intentions of their organizers is to try and legalize structures of the opposition. It is also wrong to believe that those behind the strikes wish to take part in restructuring Polish socialism and consolidate the state with the aid of strikes.

However, let us consider to what extent social moods and a panic-led fear for social security have encouraged the strikes, and to what extent the source of the strikes lies in the errors in implementing the economic reform.

From the very beginning of this year, there has been a lot of evidence of an absence of correct proportions in implementing the reform. The party and workers self-management bodies have discussed this. Rapid action took shape, making it look as if a step forward were being made. Such action included the introduction of legislation controlling economic activity and the abolition of useless intermediary structures.

The key issue today is finding a new concept for implementing the reform and giving the word "reform" back its proper meaning. For although one can talk about the extent of government responsibility for the speed of reform changes, there is no doubt that thanks to the government the current picture of economic relations is much different than it was several years ago. Now, the economy presents better possibilities and greater chances.

So I think that apart from a restructuring of economic forces and resources, one of the chief tasks is to rid the economy of bureaucratic constraints.

We also observe increasing material differences among society. While being in favor of a necessary radicalization of the reform, we have to remember that there can be an increase in the size of those groups calling for a more cohesive system of social security because they are unable to adapt themselves to the radical changes.

It would be a cardinal error not to notice this need. For those groups whose standard of living suffers and who experience a lack of prospects regardless of the quality of their work will increase the number of opponents of the reform, which will no longer go unnoticeable.

Gaining the young generation's support for the reform is a fundamental issue because of the age structure of our party and various other organizations, and because of the age of those who are picketing the factory gates. The young generation, especially those between 20 and 30, is the social stratum that possesses the greatest desire for change and the greatest creative initiative. But they also do not believe that their problems can be solved quickly. Unless we get through to the young generation, we will not revive the process of restructuring.

And finally, a thought about our party workstyle. Most people do not care if we analyze the results of various resolutions. Most people are not interested in the cuisine of politics. What they are interested in are deeds and results, which may or may not bring a change to the standard of living, and create or destroy hopes for the future of the individual, family, work brigade, and socioprofessional group.

Against this background, it is essential to restructure the party itself and revive our ranks intellectually. We need determination and faith in the program of restructuring, in other words the party program.

Roman Janusz Kalinski, Central Committee member and private farmer from Wojcieszow: Every intelligent person must fear for the country's future, our existence tomorrow, and the fate of the reform to which we attached hopes for an improvement to the situation.

The immobilization of one of the most vital spheres of our economy, coal extraction, by irresponsible strike action must affect the remaining spheres of the economy, including agriculture.

There is also universal concern in rural areas. Farmers are thinking and talking about the future with fear. There has always been a shortage of coal in rural areas. Because of the strikes, there is even less. The same goes for fodder, because the ships loaded with it are stranded in port, unloaded. This will no doubt lead to a decline in breeding. One would like to ask: Brother miners and dockers, what do you want? Who will give you bread, meat, and milk, if there is less milk, less fertilizer, and less steel because of you?

Just like most people, farmers have no great cause for satisfaction today. Rural areas have also been waiting too long for the go-ahead for farming, and they notice inconsistency in implementing agricultural policy. A farmer's toil continues to be greater than the fruits thereof. Daily shortages of production resources, incomprehensible prices, and various bureaucratic obstacles torment him.

But a farmer does not think of striking. Rural areas work for themselves and for the needs of the cities. Therefore I would like to count on reciprocity on the part of the workers class and an honest approach to rural problems on the part of the government.

The implementation of the second stage of the economic reform so far, the activity aimed at stabilizing the market, the errors in prices and incomes policy and the consequent fall in the standard of living—all these features are giving rise to growing distrust in the government's work and social dissatisfaction. In other words, they are the cause of the present conflicts in plants, which the opposition and the bankrupt activists of "Solidarity" are skillfully taking advantage of.

At this point, I would like to report on behalf of the farmers of Siedlce Voivodship that the harvest is already behind us. The results are somewhat worse because of the bad weather and shortage of production resources. We expect that crops of the four basic types of grain will be less by about 2 to 4 quintals per hectare. This might not seem much, but it amounts to thousands of tonnes.

However, the list of shortages, troubles, and anomalies is long. In the Sieldce region we only use 115 kg of pure-ingredient fertilizer per hectare, whereas 1 year ago the figure was still 125. We hardly have any machines at all to gather maize and other sources of feed, and the entire voivodship is getting less and less general and specialized equipment, for example steam and electric dryers. There is still a shortage of plant protection agents. Such a state of supplies does not encourage a favorable climate. No wonder young people are escaping to the cities. In the Sieldce region, there are 13,000 farms without any heirs.

Farmers are upset by the prices swing. In the Siedlce region, firms run by emigre Poles are already buying up potatoes for Z5,000 to Z7,000 per 100 kg. How can pig breeding possibly be profitable in a situation like this? If this continues, we will no longer eat meat or drink milk. With prices like that, a farmer loses between Z20,000 and Z25,000 in cash for every porker he has. I do not think this encourages breeding. One can say the same about the soaring prices of spare parts.

Rural society received the resolution of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum with great hopes. The criticism of implementing the reform and the paths of action contained in the resolution raised hopes of faster changes for the better. Two months later, we are in this hall once again, and I do not think there is much we can say that is positive. And people out there want to work and act for their community and country.

In June we elected new people's councils. In Siedlce Voivodship, two thirds of adults voted for them. The new councils are meant to be authentic managers of their areas. But will they be able to perform this role if there is chaos and unrest, and if we always have an unstable economic policy?

We are worried, and waiting for decisive action from the government. The Sejm has equipped it with special powers. We would finally like to feel the effects of these powers in the field.

Zbigniew Hanf, Central Committee member, miner, and chairman of the independent, self-managing trade union at the "Staszic" mine in Katowice: I am taking the floor with a heavy heart. Let me tell you about the dramatic situation that occurred in the "30 Years of the PPR" mine in Jastrzebie today. Because of an influx of methane, a doubly-dangerous explosive mixture was formed underground. A disastrous explosion may occur at any moment. At any moment, the miners underground may be killed and the mine destroyed. However, the strikers are preventing the essential heavy equipment that is necessary for the rescue operations from being used.

I am an old miner, and I say to the strikers with heavy heart but full of hope on behalf of our party's Central Committee: Open your eyes and realize what is happening. We appeal to you for common sense. The seriousness of the situation calls for the elimination of all sources of the conflict, in order to save our comrades and rescue our joint Polish assets.

We are living through difficult times, and it is easy to take a wrong step. We have to take care not to drown in a sea of lies and half-truths. We must guard against hasty decisions dictated by faulty assessments. We must not turn back from the path of democratic changes and economic reforms, which is what the political adversary is trying to make us do by preying on our errors and inconsistencies.

I have always defended the honor of my profession, while pointing out the improper climate surrounding mining and the faulty approach toward the entire subject matter of fuels and energy. It makes me to sad to read that we are to blame for the crisis, we have caused the inflation, and we do not understand the reform.

But we do understand the reform. Today in Poland, energy is coal, and without energy there will be no development, no reform, and no restructuring of industry. The last thing I could be accused of, and in fact miners are being accused of this, is placing the interests of mining before the interests of society.

Miners are just like any other people. They also want to have a day to themselves and their families. But do they have to burrow like moles underground while others enjoy life?

The truth is that the miners were asked to come to work on Saturdays. Obviously, extra work involves extra pay. This led to the government Resolution 199, which established maximum pay for Saturdays. Of course, one did not have to work on Saturdays, but how would the country have looked without those extra tonnes of coal?

The present wave of strikes was caused by a lack of reformist thinking. We have said many times that the economic reform cannot succeed unless it is combined with a reform to the political system. The first step along the road to political changes was the creation of a reborn trade union movement under exceedingly difficult conditions, a movement that was meant to become the administration's partner. Partner means that one must respect what he says. But was there any such respect? The latest OPZZ statement carries the trade union stance on this subject.

Can anyone honestly say that there are no more obstacles to the reform inside the party? Unfortunately, he cannot. Because today we no longer have any view of social justice in a reformed society, we do not know what divides us and weakens our political efficiency. Instead of discussing all the social and economic programs at hand, we are stuck in empty discussions.

What do the strikers in the striking Silesian mines want? There are several issues involved. The chief one is to restore the Miners' Charter. Our trade union movement did not neglect this matter, and it has been settled. We can grab each other's throats around various issues, but not obvious ones. It would be absurd to expect people to forget about their money. I do not know how people would react if someone went up to them and said: Sorry, there is no money in the treasury, please wait until next year. I do not know how they would react, but at least they would react manfully and honestly.

The fact that younger miners in particular are convinced that the legal trade unions are weak and that striking is the only effective way of safeguarding one's interests is the direct result of a neglect of trade union opinion, combined with inexplicable haste.

And this pudding was served to the adversary on a plate, without the slightest effort on his part. He immediately added to our own demands political demands of his own. Such treatment of a trade union movement whose great achievement is its ability to combine concern for working people with concern for the state and the raison d'etat is unthinkable in the future.

What do the miners want? Some say they only want money, and other say they also want money. In our mine, a work leader, and they form the elite of the profession, earns Z63,000 a month for work from Monday to Friday, with 1 Saturday. If anyone envies him this money, let him go underground and try his hand at mining.

There is one thing I must say about the situation in mining—we have a chronic shortage of manpower. There is also a chronic shortage of coal for economic needs, a chronic shortage of convertible currency to pay for fuels, and a chronic shortage of concrete ideas on how to economize on energy. In a situation like this, undermining, by means of strikes or fantastic projects, the stability of our sphere of the economy, whose functioning is relatively good in view of our conditions, is incomprehensible. This is quite simply damage.

Victor Lis, Central Committee member and master at the "Rawar" rad plant in Warsaw: The most important task today is to extinguish the strike fires, but if anyone thinks it will be possible to govern in the old way after the strikes, he is mistaken.

I have already said from this rostrum that in my opinion, it is fashion that rules the country and us. Sometimes workers are in fashion, and at other times the intelligentsia. Sometimes even young people are in fashion. There is a fashion for job certification, restructuring, and so on. What is bad about this is that current fashion completely cancels out the previous one, and sometimes replaces efficiency and common sense.

The slogan "exports" may suddenly appear, and everyone has to export. The result: It is necessary to import a Polish product for a Polish factory from a Western seller, and to pay for it in dollars, or even to pay for something in dollars without sending it out of the country, which seems normal because we have grown so accustomed to the exports diktat. When it hears the appropriate slogan, every enterprise has to submit to a structural change. But should every enterprise do so? Those that do not need to be restructured are the ones that most frequently carry it out. Those that ought to be restructured are capable of defending themselves against it successfully.

In the citizen's view, the government does not govern. Instead, it proceeds from one extreme situation to the next, patching holes in despair. It does not know what is profitable and what is not, does not know what will achieve results, and what these results will be. The government is unable to foresee the results of its decisions. That is what workers are saying.

We have announced equality for all sectors of the economy, no doubt on the basis of a cost-effectiveness analysis. But there is one factor missing in this analysis. The social factor. For a state factory shouldered with the responsibility of supplying the market with basic commodities may find itself in a very bad position. According to the cost-effectiveness analysis, it ought to go bankrupt. But according to society's analysis, that would mean a drastic shortage of certain market goods.

Which of these analyses is more important? The economic one or the social one? Of course, they are inseparable, especially when we remember that the economy is not a value in itself and that its only and ultimate goal is society's standard of living. However, it does not seem as if this simple truth is guiding all activity.

Can one say with a clear conscience that there are no more obstacles to the reform inside the party? Unfortunately, one cannot, and there are various signs of these obstacles. We have lost sight of social justice in a reformed society, we do not know what divides us and weakens our political efficiency. Instead of discussing the many social and economic programs, we have become enmeshed in empty talks.

A Polish worker continues to be a hired force, not an economic instrument. On whom are we to base the modernization process if we reach the conclusion that the workers class that used to be referred to in every speech no longer exists?

Perhaps such a workers class never existed, and all we did was to accept ideological dogma as the truth and now, based on this textbook dogma, we are defending ourselves against unemployment, regarding any mention of this subject as a mortal sin.

In my opinion, controlled unemployment is essential today, and it should apply to every lazy worker, whether he stands behind a machine or sits behind a desk.

I spoke to many people before today's meeting. They told me our country's administrative apparatus is geared to survival. It acts the way it does not so that things might get better, but so that they do not get worse. This apparatus will not take the risk of making changes. I do not think this is the fault of the new people in it. There have been enough cadre changes in the government and in the voivodships to show that it is not just employees that are at fault. The fault lies with bureaucratic structures in which these people work, structures that turn out to be stronger then the party in issuing revolutionary resolutions, stronger then the national drama, stronger than the wave of strikes that is engulfing us.

I do not think an honest person is capable of being indifferent to the fate of his country. But I do believe that administrative structures are capable of being soulless, egoistic, and cold. They render even the most noble individual powerless. They deprive even the most intelligent person of his mind. They deprive the energetic person of his energy. Such structures were set up a long time ago, but its defenders are still around, and they are very effective in their defense. They must be located.

We also have a new type of bureaucrat today, a bureaucrat of the reform. In my district, there are over a dozen factories, of which only four produce for the needs of the market. I suspect a similar proportion exists all over the country. This is a case of industry working for the needs of industry. This industry dictates terms to us and makes us stand at attention, or threatens us that there will be no steel and people will freeze to death.

As a materialist, I do not believe in miracles. Every time we try to restructure the Polish economy, the country reaches the brink of catastrophe. Does it have to be so? Is there nothing we can do?

I see three possibilities. Either there will be a blow that will demolish this wall that blocks the reform, or people will find a way of circumventing this wall, or we will continue to be stuck in this mire, exposing the whole country to poverty and regression. We do not agree to this last variant.

Our party's work is paralyzed by a feeling of guilt for the past and the knowledge that society does not support it. This lack of support is the result of lack of economic success and lack of young people in our ranks. We are not going to answer to God and history for this; we are going to answer much earlier, to the nation, here and now.

Wladyslaw Gontarski, Central Committee member and foreman at the Maritime Trade Port in Gdynia: My speech is the fulfillment of the desires of my colleagues, the dockers of Gdynia, who wanted to me to present our problems and doubts about the very difficult sociopolitical and economic situation at this forum. They expect us to solve these problems in a direct way, without beating around the bush and without emotion, but intelligently and according to a proper economic analysis.

The main provision of the second stage of the reform was to balance out the market, increase the independence of enterprises, and improve general management efficiency. From the practice so far, it emerges that the solutions that have been implemented are too punitive vis-a-vis those well-functioning enterprises that do not receive any subsidies out of the budget.

This is confirmed by the fact that the development possibilities of enterprises have been drastically restricted because of the reduction in income tax concessions earned by exports. We believe the decision to halt investments where I work, the Maritime Trade Port in Gdynia, is a restriction on the port's potential in handling shipments of Polish exports, as a result of which foreign currency influx into the state budget must suffer.

We are afraid of the idea of freezing wages and prices. Of course this will only affect workers in state enterprises where wages are already lower than wages in companies, cooperatives, or private work places.

There is only one rule that is applied in countries with different political and economic orientations, and not just in these countries—the size of wages is determined by the employer according to funds and possibilities, and the state and its fiscal bodies deduct taxes that are laid down by law and socially approved. Does the idea of freezing prices and wages conform to this principle? I think not. As economists say, this idea possesses the same number of pluses as minuses, in other words it is a zero idea.

When I was leaving for today's plenum, my colleagues said: Work out some real progress in management, do not split hairs, let those who govern prove themselves, and let their theories and plans be realistic and suited to the reality. A realistic and intelligent system of management will find the people to implement it.

The decisions reached today will be an advertisement for the way in which the party fulfills its service toward society in order to improve the whole country's standard of living.

I would also like to present problems with workers consciousness for your consideration. The mass media are saying that the majority is ruled by the minority. Is there no force capable of making these young hotheads act according to principles that are used by intelligent people? Why does this majority of workers let smaller groups determine the fate of its enterprise and families? Is this minority stronger? It is definitely more determined.

Do those who really want to work and improve their living conditions really lack determination? This is not just a problem for the sociologists. We ourselves should establish the cause of this situation. Both the governors and the governed ought to to understand how workers think.

Yesterday's speech by General Kiszczak proves that the further democratization of social life is not just a slogan. I do not think many parties and governments decide to hold talks with those who criticize them or who boycott their improvement programs by means of strikes and protest action. Our party and government have proposed to sit down at a round table with all those who want to improve the situation. But there can be no room at this table for those who act against the constitutional order in our socialist state.

Life has shown that the OPZZ and trade unions are bothering the government and enterprise managements with their demands every day. These demands are sharp in content and tone. That is probably how it should be, for it is the trade unions' role to extract the greatest number of privileges and powers from the government and enterprise managements. However, there is one condition. The other side must have the necessary resources.

I do not wish to associate former "Solidarity" members with the attitude of their ideological leaders and propagators of the most ridiculous of slogans—"the worse it is, the better." This would be an insult to them. But I cannot agree with the fact that people who would like to see our country with a different system, within different borders, and in different surroundings want to rule our country.

It is annoying that those who spit not only on the party and authorities, but also on those who want to live and work honestly, can go around unpunished. They laugh at the fact that no one will touch them.

General Kiszczak, all praise to you that, on behalf of the government and our party leadership, you have stretched out your hand to those whose advice ought to be sought and with whom one ought to negotiate so that things might improve. However, do not tolerate antistate and antisystem activity that is aimed against us working people and perpetrated by those who do not eat rationed goods but obtain their supplies from Western sources, which have everything from Hamburg white bread [as published] to video equipment and equipment for espionage and subversion.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee: For over a week Szczecin has been experiencing a difficult sociopolitical situation caused by the illegal strikes in the port of Szczecin and the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise. Irreversible economic losses have already occurred, and further effects are difficult to determine.

People ask whether the strikes were avoidable and why is it so easy to paralyze the most sensitive spheres of life. Why is it that the law is broken in a law abiding country, with no regard for the effects, even on an international scale? Very many people are asking these and similar questions.

They not only talk about the unrest, the economic losses, and the need to investigate workers' claims; they also express surprise that the harmful, illegal strikes are capable of spreading so widely and that a small group of people can impose its demands on an entire work force.

People conclude that in a dramatic time, an inability to keep law and order signifies weakness by the authorities, which also means incompetence in pursuing the economic reform. National accord does not mean one should tolerate one's enemies. We must not ignore the these opinions.

One must say frankly that not every party member applied himself with commitment in opposing the strikes. Even if they did not agree with this form of protest, some members shared society's dissatisfaction with the present social and economic situation. Why did they not commit themselves? We have to provide an exhaustive reply, because our party's future and its ability to fulfill its leading role in Polish society depends on it.

It seems that one of the reasons is that we as a party have concentrated too much on defense and on explaining current economic and social policy. Before the referendum, our party aktivs made it clear that such and such a price policy and no other was required, and they explained the purpose and need for the latest price increases. It is we who explained to society that these proposals were the only correct ones, not some other proposals. It is we as a party who are in the front rank, not someone else. In this situation, we as a party are once again under attack for having defended that which causes social dissatisfaction.

Mistrust in the party does not mean mistrust in the socialist state at all. The most difficult matter today is that we are incapable of producing activity that would implement the program and satisfy social expectations. What I fear the worst is some spectacular activity and declarations.

Inflation has affected not just the economic sphere. A hyperinflation of words is no less ominous. So if we want to establish party prestige, we have to gain broad approval for understandable and determined plans, and it is results that count. We know that success propagates itself.

We have been unable to explain in a convincing way the need to increase the social costs of the reform. In particular, we have been unable to counteract negative phenomena in time. The fact that wages have grown faster than prices means nothing to society. This can only be partly explained by psychology. However, it is true that the increase in incomes was divided rather unequally among individual factories and economic sectors. People in state employment felt the increased incomes the least, and people in private employment the most.

The same applies to individual professions. What have health and state agricultural employees to say?. This, of course, is but one example of our lack of cohesion in socioeconomic policy.

Work places have gained independence. Economic success is supposed to mean positive results for their work forces and the state. People want a strong economy, a stabilization of the situation, and certainty that there will be no more blind turns ahead at any time. They also want strong and competent authorities.

In independent enterprises much depends on the management, under normal conditions and under abnormal conditions like during the present time. I say this in order to stress the need to support these cadres and assure them the right conditions to make rational decisions and have a certain tomorrow.

Managerial cadres must be sure that there will be no inconsistency in economic and social policy. Only then can we expect them to organize life in a factory, and not just production, satisfactorily.

We are experiencing a difficult time, but the time ahead of us will be no easier. We must do everything we can to convince society that the road we are taking is the right one and that we can afford not just concepts, but a full implementation of the programs we have adopted. Words and proposals alone are no longer enough.

Aleksandra Koszada, Central Committee member and deputy head of department at the "Miflex" radio components plant in Kutno: The seventh plenum resolution clearly said that the Central Committee considers an increased efficiency of the second stage of the reform and a rapid balancing out of successive market sectors in the nearest future as the most important matters.

Almost 3 months have passed since then, and instead of a balanced market, we still have an unbalanced one. The market situation has had a definite effect on social moods. The second major issue is the enormous difficulties with materials and joint production in factories, and the enormous difficulty in achieving the necessary productivity. On top of all this we have a wave of strikes, illegal ones. Great concern and an uncertainty about tomorrow has occurred. As the strikes have developed, so has the optimism of our comrades faded. People ask: How is that a small number of people can paralyze our economy? After all, we already had a lesson in April and May. Of course one can say that these problems and conflicts ought to be resolved inside one's factory, but there are situations where the center has to intervene, situations in which the entire economy and its interests are in danger.

Why is it that the law is not the same for everyone in Poland, and what is the purpose of the special powers for the government? I think the worst situation is when one can believe in impunity. The strikes have caused enormous losses. Who will bear the consequences? Will the strike organizers also have to pay for the material damage? Society must be told.

Some activity is downright shocking. What real worker would destroy his own work post? One can understand protesting against one's employer and against all the various mistakes, but destroying one's livelihood? That is incomprehensible. Unless, of course, one has other another source of livelihood.

It is necessary to examine very carefully why the present situation came about and why a part of society is supporting the strikes. It is tragic that more and more people believe that strikes are the only way to make our government act with greater determination. They believe that it is profitable to strike in Poland. Strikers, especially their leaders, become heroes, and those who work honestly find it more and more difficult.

The taxation policy that is currently in force has brought about the situation where on the one hand we have millionaires, and on the other we have people who have trouble in making ends meet even though they work hard. Not everyone has to seek employment in a firm run by emigre Poles or in a private company. A state enterprise should also assure the necessary wages to live at a decent standard of living. Very much has been said about restructuring industry and eliminating inefficient plants. Why should we continue to support enterprises, and there are many of these, that constantly have to be financed out of the budget? We are all bear the consequences of this. On top of all this we are being inundated by a wave of rules, laws, bans, orders, and instructions. Bookkeepers are developing a rash because of all this, and employees in financial offices say that there are many rules that totally contradict each other. In the end, one does not know what is law and what is lawlessness; what is voluntarism and what is rational activity; what is legal and what is illegal.

Many decisions are being implemented only in appearance. For example, the agreement reached between the Federation of Trade Unions of Urban Transportation Employees on the one hand and the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy on the other about overtime pay being exempted from tax has still not been implemented. The agreement was to come into force by the end of June.

Once again it is a question of decisions but no implementation. Perhaps we should wait for the next conflict. How much sloppy activity there is which makes life difficult for everyone! Someone once said that society does not have to think in economic terms and consistently, but the authorities do.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Central Committee member and chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth: The basic causes of the present unrest have not been removed. We cannot make the mistake of drawing only superficial conclusions, as was the case after the referendum and after the people's council elections.

Despite society's disapproval of the strikes as a method of resolving conflicts, its hatred of chaos and impotence is greater. The opinions of offices are less and less frequently shared by society. Schedules and timetables on their own will not take the place of effective action. Today one can clearly see that many of the economic doubts felt by workers are justified. In many cases, we have to respect workers' arguments and decisions. If so, then why is the implementation of these decisions so sluggish? This sluggishness not only confirms the incompetence of bureaucrats, but also throws the authorities into a bad light. Recently, we have been paying too high a price for procrastination.

Simplification is a road that leads nowhere. Articles by journalists on the state of the young generation will not make the problem of young people's part in the strikes disappear. What we need is a critical-minded review of party youth policy, a review inspired by concern over the party's future and the continuity of party work.

I am not saying that there are no weaknesses in the work of many young workers belonging to the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. I know we do not make full use of all the tools of influence we have at our disposal. Nevertheless, I could indicate many reasons why young people, and not just young workers, have become so determined. It is true that most of the strikers are young, but one must understand that they do not want to have to wait for years for their own apartment. They do not want Poland to be a backwater of Europe. They cannot come to terms with the fact that 2 weeks in Germany brings more money than 1 year or more in Poland. They are impatient, and thus very susceptible to catchy slogans. Most of them mean well but cannot find any other way of protesting and expressing their opinions. Today, young people have become pragmatists and demand concrete guarantees and chances of achieving something.

The point is not to waste this capital.

With this in mind, I wish to state that the Union of Polish Socialist Youth renders its backing to every young worker who joined the illegal strikes for economic reasons and under pressure from his surroundings and colleagues. I ask the appropriate bodies to honor this backing.

There can be no turning back from the economic reform and economic affairs. However, the implementation of the reform must be accompanied by a comprehensive, clear, and readable concept of satisfying society's basic needs, providing social security for the weakest, and rewarding the best and hardest workers. This concept must be premeditated, and must foresee social, economic, and political effects.

It seems that the proposal to freeze wages and prices does not fulfill these conditions. Instead, I think it is necessary to guarantee stable prices of basic goods and services that

determine a family's standard of living, and to make wages dependent on a real, physical output of goods. All discrepancies in the present wage solutions must be removed.

We in this hall must ask ourselves how to rebuild the party's ability to lead the workers class politically. Despite various innovations, the party's activity is not becoming more effective. Why? Profound thinking, and perhaps historic decisions, are needed. I think that in a situation like this, the national party conference should be held as quickly as possible, so that it may decide what ought to be done. The moment is decisive, and we should not delay.

Jerzy Nastalczyk, member of the Central Party Auditing and Control Commission Presidium and machine operator at the "Zeltor" woollen plant in Zgierz: Two years of the central authorities' present tenure are already behind us, and the national PZPR conference is ahead.

I think the final signal has sounded for us to act energetically at all levels of economic and political life and to translate justified resolutions into tangible deeds. We must overcome the neglect, weakness, and inconsistency. People who are fearful and incompetent or who disrupt the economic reform process through their decisions should be deprived of their posts.

The government has tried drastic and slight price increases since February 1982. The structure of prices is still not right. Right now, it is even worse than last year. Instead of approaching, economic equilibrium is receding. This is causing dissatisfaction among working people, which in turn is exploited by the political adversary in order to create strikes.

The present prices and incomes policy will not lead to market equilibrium. In the Politburo report, Comrade Baka announced work on a new concept of prices and wages policy. The several months needed to work out this new policy is a short time, considering the fact that we failed to solve this problem even during the space of many years. However, considering our academic potential and the bitter experience we have tasted in recent years, the policy should be understood by working people, and the government must not lack the determination and consistency to implement it.

Deputy Premier Szalajda has officially made it known that a price and wage freeze until the end of the year is being considered, as part of the government's special powers. Some workers have been calling for such a solution for years. Such a freeze does not suit the reform, just as the return to the orders-directives system in some market sectors, necessitated by the tense situation, does not. The basic question is whether the managements of enterprises that made proper use of their wage funds will not once again look like fools.

On the basis of its extraordinary powers, the government has ordered an examination of 16,000 economic units in order to examine the ratios between increases in wages, output, and prices. Of the three irregularities that were discovered, the greatest one was that average wages had increased by 60 percent against last year, while output in terms of fixed prices had actually fallen. Some 26 percent of the examined enterprises had committed all three irregularities. And yet the chairman of the Council of Ministers only sacked five directors.

During the preparations for the seventh plenum, a lot was said about enterprise directors and heads of various spheres of economic life, whereas the directors themselves feel that a witchhunt is being organized against them.

The question is, will the government be able to use its extraordinary powers during the 7 and ½ months, or will people who secure themselves against responsibility for their decisions, conformists, and opponents of the reform once again emerge victorious?

I believe that it is inefficient enterprises that will quickly collapse, not the reform. The activity foretold in the critically-minded Politburo report strengthens me in my conviction.

We do not know the details about the wages freeze, but it is doubtful whether it will be possible to use the wages fund reserves that have been accumulated in recent years; whether it will be possible to pay for additional market production, for example in light industry; and whether it will be possible to use the funds granted as a result of the general assessment of wages.

The continuing incompetence in solving the problem of supplies of basic commodities to the population is encountering sharp criticism. However, we are afraid that the climate, which is steadily deteriorating, might be used in order to stage a political contest. Explaining the present troubles by means of objective difficulties and providing statistics at such a difficult time only undermines people's confidence in the authorities.

Bogumil Ferensztajn, Central Committee member and minister of land management and construction industry: We are looking for the causes of the dissatisfaction. I think the satisfaction of housing needs is also a sphere which influences social moods. In our conditions, housing construction, which depends on the economy's condition, really has become a burning political problem because the time it takes to satisfy one's housing needs is no longer acceptable.

The party and government leadership have fully appreciated the weight of this problem and have initiated the working out of a government housing development program. On the basis of this program, the Council of Ministers has created better conditions for the manufacturers of building materials and for building firms. The

procedure involved in obtaining building sites and obtaining support for the development of construction has been simplified. However, the process of obtaining a site and building premises on it takes a certain amount of time. Nevertheless, already today one can try to make a preliminary assessment of the phenomena occurring in the entire complex of housing construction.

The solutions that have been introduced have aroused the interest of builders and financiers. Local authorities have become noticeably more energetically active for the sake of housing construction. The positive trends include: more apartments completed in the first 7 months of this year than during the same period last year, a start on a greater number of buildings this year, an increase in the average usable space of apartments, and a reduction in the time it takes to construct a building. The number of plots of land available for single-family homes has increased, and the number of small cooperatives and companies involved in construction has also increased. We observe a clear rise in factory construction. More and more industrial enterprises are undertaking housing construction.

The conviction that reducing the investments front in the economy is an essential condition for progress in housing construction is increasingly widespread. According to an earlier assessment, it is foreseen that the August tasks will be fulfilled despite the poorer results achieved in July. The forecast for the period until the end of the year is similar.

While presenting the positive trends, I would also like to point out negative trends and dangers. The shortages of materials and supply difficulties that are accompanying the abolition of rationing and central distribution are increasing.

It is certain that the effects of strikes will be visible in construction in 2 or 3 months, when we shall have forgotten that there were any strikes. Reductions in the manpower of building enterprises, especially those in large conurbations, are continuing. No real improvements can be seen in the conservation of materials and in the punctuality of the completion of building tasks by contractors and investors. The ministry continues to take resolute action in this regard.

The increasing costs of apartment construction as a result of rapid increases in the prices of building materials and in those of building sites are giving rise to concern.

Because the work forces involved in building are shown to be increasingly improving building results, I propose that we should exclude those who build apartments from the plan to freeze prices and wages, if this painful plan is adopted. I know that such exceptions are unpopular, but the most correct principle of the economic reform has been employed in construction, namely, that something should be given for something, which means better wages for greater production results. This is our chance to develop housing construction.

Aside from ad hoc measures, we continue to work out a concept for developing housing policy and for adjusting the principles of the economy and of social protection to the requirements of the second stage of the economic reform. Before promoting large-scale housing construction, we have to decide to what extent apartments are to be regarded as a commercial commodity and to what extent as social assets.

In large-scale conurbations we try to improve the communal services for the population. Before the end of this year I will submit proposals for institutional solutions in this regard to the Council of Ministers.

Kazimierz Trojanowicz, Central Committee member, electrician, and brigade leader in the Glinik mining equipment plant in Gorlice, Nowy Sacz Voivodship:

Like many Central Committee members, I also wish to refer to the problem of bureaucracy. What is the use of raising this problem? As members of the Central Committee, which is a political body, what influence do we have on solving the problem of bureaucracy? Clerks continue to hide behind regulations and paper; they cannot see the people because of that paper, because of their efforts to always be on the safe side, and because of their inefficiency and incompetence. Many problems are waiting to be solved, and people and social and vocational groups have to wait for many months for decisions.

Better or worse solutions are made only when determined individuals or those who have no respect for the laws tackle difficult problems, ones that are supposed to be impossible to solve. The administration's lighthearted approach to the crucial problems submitted by social and vocational groups knocks us out.

This year's economic situation is bad, and there has been little time between the spring crisis and the present one.

The government can be accused of many things, including the fact that performance is inefficient and fails to keep abreast of our economy's needs. However, we must also keep in mind that the lower echelons of power can also make decisions and that the economic reform has given great powers to these decisionmakers. However, the worst thing is that almost everywhere these powers continue to be used for disregarding the regulations that determine the correct performance of the reform.

Decisionmakers hide behind the saying that "what is not forbidden is allowed." We know what the results of such an approach are, and that is why we continue to ask ourselves: What about the review of structures? What

about the certification of jobs in plants? How is it possible to talk about correct remuneration of workers, if those two problems of work organization have not been really solved to the end?

In some branches of the economy, many-tiered management structures still continue to function, which means that the 9th and 10th congress resolutions and Central Committee plenum resolutions have still not been realized. Departmental and territorial parochialism of various pressure groups still continues to paralyze government activities.

Why is there inflation when the general opinion is that the family budgets are short of money? Many workers think that one element of inflation or of the inflation spiral is the unjust system of premiums paid by plants. This system favors management and their supervisors. Workers are aware of the fact that rank-and-file manual and white collar employees often are paid premiums that are 100 times lower. Plants and plant managements can be pleased that the average wage is not too bad.

Why have I brought up the issue of premiums? Because premiums are an incorrect method of obtaining income that exceeds basic wages several times over. As Comrade Baka said in his report, people continue to talk with increasing frequency about the possibility of buying plant shares.

Workers think that, first, premiums are not always just, and second, their jobs in plants are at risk, because they have no chance of buying such shares with the wages they earn. They think that these shares are a way of enabling plant managements to invest their money.

Managing plants is a big problem, because no one knows what kind of economic game the government will want to introduce by the end of the year. It is impossible to predict what the true fiscal results will be.

Stanislaw Habczyk, member of the Central Control-Review Commission and first secretary of the PZPR Committee of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship:

I agree with the assessment of our precarious socioeconomic situation by the plenum report, but I think that some elements of it are encouraging. Once again we can see that the opposition's influence among the people who are ready to actively support it is limited. The immunity of the workers class to strike appeals has increased and, I think, the policy of openness vis-a-vis independent and opposition communities has passed its test. Those communities' support for strikes was weaker than it was previously.

Should the present situation recur, the future militancy of the forces of the state in restoring law and order must be on a large scale from the very beginning. Otherwise, the erosion of the rule of law will be total and the world will cease to understand us. Why should we passively watch a situation that costs us billions of zlotys and deprives us of hope?

What to do next is the most important question. We have probably erred by realizing at the same time many correct projects, which compete with each other. For example, we want to repay our debts and to protect our living standards; to produce many goods for domestic use and to increase exports; to eliminate crisis without hurting anyone; and to satisfy everyone, without really satisfying anyone.

Some people say that in our situation we need an alliance rather than an accord. They say that accords are signed if one wants to have peace and quiet and that an alliance is signed when one wants to achieve certain goals. That is why one looks for allies to achieve such goals. Besides, an alliance means that all allies share responsibilities.

The development of the present situation shows that small corrections to programs will not be enough when the conflicts are over. Evolutionary changes in the economy must be replaced by revolutionary and extraordinary changes, because imbalance is increasing at lightning speed.

We will be able to tackle these problems on two upcoming occasions: the first is the correction of the 5-year plan and the second is the drawing up of the 1989 budget. I support Comrade Baka's proposal that consumer industries should be profoundly restructured.

I think that improving the structure of the wage fund is one of the most urgent tasks. At present, it is possible even to reduce production and to still earn good wages, a feature that many plants took advantage of last year. The present wage fund mechanisms do not coerce increased production.

We are still without incentives to increase productivity. We have to eliminate the situation in which the cadre is able to say that it is no use to produce a lot cheaply if it is profitable to produce a little at great expense. The present situation has laid bare the parochialism and the ruthless struggle of social groups for a place at the table at which the national income is shared.

We should create a lobby of the light industry—of consumer industries, which become rapidly profitable and turn out products within a few months of the decision to start production. Consumer industries need no subsidies. With our cadres and quality production we can easily sell consumer products throughout the world. Our voivodship exports its products mainly to highly developed countries.

One lesson we have learned from our political crises is that our farm policy must be determined once and for all. We have implemented this policy with certain difficulties for the past 6 years and have achieved some results. Agriculture is the most important segment of the consumer market, but only a single segment. The other segments are not quite up to standard, and that is why, as the Main Office of Statistics and the OPZZ tell us, our people have revolted even though production continues to increase, the real wage has increased 5 percent, the minimum wage has increased 10 percent, and wage increases outstrip prices increases.

What are we to do to achieve at least temporary balance? Let me cite an example. On 30 June, Comrade Czyrek visited our Welux textile plant, whose production is worth Z10 billion and which exports 80 percent of its products to highly industrialized countries. This large plant is able to assign only about Z200 million a year to the development fund. A textile machine costs Z500 million, and we need several such machines to maintain production and the world standards.

I am asking you to give this industry a chance by correcting the 5-year plan and by restructuring the investment program.

Aleksander Moscicki, Central Committee member and grinder in the Walter metallurgical plant in Radom:

The situation in Radom and our voivodship is rather calm, and our work forces have worked without break, although some Solidarity activists tried here and there to disturb normal work and to induce workers to demonstrate and attend rallies.

Our party aktivs and managing cadres fulfilled their duties, and their daily talks with workers enabled us to eliminate many problems bothering the working people.

However, workers are afraid that nothing much will improve unless the center makes the necessary decisions.

Our workers are not on strike, but some groups of them are dissatisfied and want a wage increase. They receive our explanations that such increases are counterproductive with mistrust. They say that only those who strike and make demands always get something.

I represent a work force of a large plant, one of those that determines the social climate in voivodships and throughout the country. However, the work forces of such plants cannot understand why they have to face fiscal and economic barriers, which small artisan workshops in the private sector do not have to face.

History and the present time prove that whenever the workers class makes a protest, the people hostile to our system want to make political capital out of workers' dissatisfaction.

The working people's lives are not easy, but these people say: Let living conditions become worse as long as we have peace and quiet. I think that most people are against demonstrations and destruction of what we have achieved over many years.

Our situation is still abnormal, and although we want no one's head, many of us wonder if those who destroy everything and want Poland's reputation to suffer badly are worthy of the name of citizen of our fatherland.

Those politicking heroes of the present strikes should make good the losses they are causing us. I do not know how they should do this, but those who would again like to promote actions that lose us billions of zlotys should bear responsibility for their deeds.

Zdzislaw Swiatek, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in Czerwone Zaklebie coal mine in Sosnowiec:

The present strikes are causing enormous, irreparable losses, which will only worsen our economic situation. All our people, and primarily miners, will have to suffer. We continue to intensely discuss these issues on every occasion and we are afraid that our economic balance may deteriorate completely. Eight years ago we had already learned about the economic results of strikes and about the effects of long work interruptions, especially in such a sensitive area as mining.

Party, trade union, and youth aktivs, as well as non-party people always ask us why mining has been under such consistent attack for a long time now and why it is miners that are blamed for every bad situation. They ask us whether such situations could have been avoided and who it was that had skillfully exploited the atmosphere around the mining community and the excessive tardiness in solving Polish miners' complicated problems.

Some answers came fast. We now know that familiar Solidarity activists are behind the present strikes and continue to wage a ruthless political struggle with familiar and indiscriminate means. Their motto is the principle that "the end justifies the means."

We all know there is a law regulating the organization of legal strikes, but skillful lawyers have been able to convince the perpetrators of unlawful strikes that they can go unpunished. That is, they laugh at fines they have to pay with someone else's money. After their brief stay in prisons they come back to the old activities as veritable heroes.

Some of them defy all social and political norms of conduct, drawing into their game young and honest miners, who eventually suffer moral and fiscal losses on this account. Those perpetrators laugh at the law when they do their unlawful work. That is why aktivs, supervisors, and honest people become bitter, hold protests, and fall prey to doubts, knowing that irresolution is a

danger to the party. If we continue to hesitate, we may lose those who support us. Failure to take action against organizers of unlawful strikes may weaken people's trust in the resolution of authorities and in the rule of law. Young party members have often aired such views, and we must take notice of them.

Everyone continues to ask whether we will have to foot the bill on account of strikes. Should we have to pay, the authority of the government would be completely undermined and the development and attitudes of party ranks would suffer. Party aktivs, engineers, technicians, and working people are tired of the present situation, which amounts to a political struggle that is very difficult and that calls for civil courage and for views and attitudes that are not always popular.

Could the present events have been avoided or been less serious? Yes, they could. Many errors were made with regard to miners. Our efforts and the determined attitude of our party aktivs, engineers, and trade unions are aimed at stopping unlawful strikes. Nevertheless, a number of urgent problems affecting miners must be solved with the effective help of the central authorities.

We have many problems to solve in mining itself, and these problems have acquired acute significance during recent events. We must rapidly tackle them by ourselves. We are already drawing the necessary conclusions.

Ryszard Klimczak, Central Committee member, fisherman, and first skipper of the Barka fishing enterprise in Kolobrzeg, Koszalin Voivodship: This is another year of very shaky economic regulations. Shaky planning has aggravated the political situation and has brought about a complete pauperism of enterprises.

I will not quote the amount of taxes we have to pay, but I wonder whether this money is properly used. It probably is not, because it is not right to subsidize the factories that are shaky giants and that produce additional trouble instead of economic results.

Our people's disapproval of the government has not been expressed officially by the Politburo. The OPZZ has twice expressed this disapproval, but the first time produced no response, which is a pity, because the party should have reacted more resolutely at that time and should have named those responsible for the April-May events. This is what our people demanded. As for the OPZZ's position this August, it has been simply diluted. Such a response is not worthy of a party that plays a leading and guiding role guaranteed by the Constitution.

The worst thing is that we partly blame our political adversary for the present situation, because he allegedly hinders us from smoothly implementing the second stage of the economic reform. Well, I wonder whether those few gentlemen, who hold different political views, could have been able to create the difficulties in question or whether the reason is the inadequate concept of our economic reform. The plenum report has partially explained why this is so, but I am not satisfied. The government was given special powers to save the situation when the party and the Sejm saw that the economic reform was not being successfully implemented.

The plenum report contained very few clarifications on how to exploit those powers. I think that they could have been used in such a way as to alleviate the difficult situation.

Our people are not afraid to strike. On the contrary, they say that he who strikes gets what he wants. They have been saying this on many occasions. Legends are circulating about the ways of settling strikes, and these legends demoralize other groups of working people.

As soon as our state came into being we had been saying that one has the right to work, that jobs are guaranteed for everyone, and that work is man's supreme asset. That we are far from those principles has been shown by recent events, during which we could see that it is enough for dozens of individuals who refuse to work to make common cause, to render us helpless, and to ensure that those who have contempt for their own jobs and for their achievements are right. What remains for us to do is to listen in collective helplessness to the communiques citing increasing losses and to sign declarations that we are willing to work. I think we should take decisive action in this regard.

I am trusted in my position and I have been asked to run my unit in such a way as to catch a lot of fish and to bring them home safely. As a party member I have often raised my hand here when certain people were chosen for certain positions. I have always hoped that they would behave in the way I have to.

Each one of us wants to live in a state which is run efficiently, in which one is paid solid wages for one's work, and in which money is money and law is law.

Jozef Nowak, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Walbrzych Voivodship:

The party leadership has said long ago that in the situation in which we live, extraordinary events are possible. Many wonder where the party is, but I think that it is with us. The party must be with the people, on the one hand, and, on the other, it must always assume responsibility for the present and the future.

The present situation has surprised not only us. Still, our adversary has not arrived in time in our basin and has not been able to proclaim many political slogans. The only slogans that appeared in our region were those expressing solidarity with the mines in Upper Silesia. If those great ones in Katowice raised their voices, those in Walbrzych had also to raise theirs. However, only two

shafts were on strike, one for 48 hours and the other for 24 hours. Altogether 350 out of 5,200 miners were on strike. The others continued to work.

Welders helped to remove the chains that locked the mine, and the manager was able to go in and prevail upon miners to disperse. In the second shaft they dispersed by themselves. The attempted strike in the Walbrzych mine lasted only 4 hours and ended in about the same way.

I think that this means that people's attitudes are of decisive significance. Errors were made, but not by refusing to act.

We have scope for maneuver in the political area. I trust that we will achieve much in this regard, but economic problems are difficult because of that unfortunate issue of prices. Official prices have been frozen, and they account for some percentage points of all prices. However, we are most afraid of contracted prices, which are a difficulty dictated by private initiative. Our people level most criticism at private initiative. The treasury should act in such way that individual sectors of the economy are treated on at least equal terms.

Wages are another problem. Every community has claimed higher wages in the past few months. Wages for some workers continue to be at least partially settled and for some not at all. Although farmers have received a second increase this year, they continue to repeat that farm production, especially animal production, is unprofitable. The budgetary situation is difficult, and I think that we should not lose sight of this issue. Perhaps our authorities really need 90 calm days to make their accounts. I hope that our people would receive an estimate of these accounts at an earlier date.

If our party relents its militancy, then its victory, in which I believe, will continue to recede. We have still not exhausted our potential intellectually.

Stanislaw Knap, Central Committee member, engineer, and instructor in the Krakow-Plaszow engine depot of the Polish railroads:

The situation is my community is not pleasant either. My colleagues are not on strike, but they support other people's just demands. Their interest is in the economy and the dignified life of Polish workers, especially those working in state enterprises. I have worked 35 years on the railroads and have many times heard that the Polish worker is unable to work. In the past 35 years I have only twice come late with my trains and I was punished for that as is normal with our railroads.

Having heard Comrade Baka's report, I wonder why the economic reform, as conceived by professors, clashes with the expectations of the workers class in large state enterprises. I do not know what is to be done in this regard. Perhaps we should reconsider the law on enterprises, because it is workers in large enterprises and not in cooperatives and small workshops who strike. Perhaps we should reconsider the fiscal conditions of large enterprises. The Polish railroads are also in trouble. Large enterprises are monopolies we will not able to defeat. We will not be able to defeat the Lenin steel works, the Polish railroads, and the mining industry as monopolies.

We should ponder why the workers class refuses to accept the mechanisms of the economic reform.

We have very educated people, and there are many professors in our government. In enterprises, too, we can see more and more educated people, yet the situation is getting worse. Let us not say that workers do not want to work, because those workers who left our plant and went to the private sector continue to work like ones possessed by 100 devils. I am also prepared to continue to work like that on the railroads. They have taken away my assistant and the conductors on my suburban trains. I drive my trains alone, but they move, even though they are late at times.

Some jobs are being certified and others are not. I am pleased that Comrade Baka has criticized this situation.

Let us examine bureaucracy, which has increased tremendously. Who needs so many tiers of railroad administration? We mentioned that fact at the ninth party congress, but what of it? The ministry has just been able to reorganize itself, although its reforms have taken so many years. Workers are entitled to be impatient, and such is the truth, comrades. My heart bleeds when I see all those strikes. I know what a blow they are to the PPR. I had a man-to-man talk with my son. He is young, has not fled the country, wants to stay in Poland, and has joined the party. He has begun to build his own house, but his undertaking is real torture. We must do something about that. We must also ensure that the workers class in large industrial areas accept the conditions of the reform, because there will be no reform without this class.

On the other hand, the government must be consistent in its certain activities. The government must not govern while on its knees. It must be strong, and people must be disciplined.

Czeslaw Staszczak, Central Committee member and vice minister of internal affairs:

We are once again compelled to analyze the reasons for the sudden deterioration of our sociopolitical situation and to consider the necessary conclusions. It is not the duty of our ministry to solve socioeconomic problems and to interfere in them. Still, our ministry is obliged to make proposals and predictions regarding the further development of events.

In the first and second quarters of 1988 we noted increasing dissatisfaction of people with the lack of improvement in the economic situation, especially the flow of goods, and with the slowness of the second stage of the economic reform. We regarded the April-May strikes as a shrill alarm making it necessary to consider in an urgent and profound manner the ways of accelerating and intensifying the reforms expected by everyone. Such were also the directives issued by the seventh party plenum.

Thanks to radical and risky decisions to eliminate unlawful strikes and thanks to other measures, the situation calmed down to some extent in June and July. However, collective disputes continued and individual hotbeds continued to smolder. Large segments of our people, prompted by political adversaries, became increasingly convinced that the government and administration had failed to draw pragmatic lessons from the April-May unrest and strikes.

People in general were convinced that what they did not see were effective efforts to eliminate tensions in the flow of goods, wages, and social matters. One of the reasons for this was the economically adverse and premeditated activities of the adversaries of our state authorities. The first strike in the July Manifesto coal mine triggered other strikes and resulted in a wave of strikes, as we predicted. Instigation and various forms of pressure, from threats to psychological terror, were responsible for the fact that over 10 mines, the port and some transportation depots in Szczecin, and part of the Lenin shipyards went on strike on 22 August. Explanatory actions, mainly propaganda, carried out by party and social aktivs brought home to people the seriousness of the situation, the dangers in its further development, and the size of material, moral, and political losses. Civic reflection began to deepen.

We know that some people have alleged that our ministry has not taken radical and immediate measures to eliminate the strikes. I will not argue with such allegations, because they have been much more decidedly and convincingly demolished by different and much more prevalent views.

We still think that solutions calling for the use of force by the order-keeping forces are an ultimate measure, which may be taken only when all other measures have been exhausted and when the expected development of the situation is pregnant with serious dangers to the state's internal law and order. This is how we see the position of the party. This position has often been confirmed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and has been adopted by the seventh plenum resolution on solving social conflicts exclusively by political methods.

We have still not forgotten the tragic results of the intervention of order-keeping forces in the Wujek mine and other places. We should also recall the declaration of the OPZZ Executive Committee on 7 July of this year that "we are against using order-keeping forces to solve any conflicts between workers and the bodies of state and economic administrations."

I wish to inform the Central Committee that during this difficult period the Ministry of Internal Affairs continues to effectively protect law and public order and has concluded a number of criminal cases that have shocked the public. These achievements have been scored with considerable assistance on the part of the people, who ignored various offensive rumors and insinuations directed against us and disregarded the attempts of some groups of individuals to promote distrust of the militia and security services. The Ministry of Internal Affairs continues to fully realize the announced decisions and, as usual, to place the necessary emphasis on preventive measures. We expect that people will continue to support us, because only common and consistent efforts are able to prevent strikes and other conflicts and to limit their scope.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the tardy implementation of the promises made to work forces last May was a direct reason why the Rudna mine went on strike. I do not have to tell you that that strike triggered an entire chain of incidents, which have taken such a disadvantageous turn insofar as the country is concerned. In the same way, the fact that a change was made in various wage groups without taking into consideration the results of the completed negotiations with the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions triggered a wave of dissatisfaction.

As you can see, it is still tardiness, bureaucratic lack of concern, and insensitivity to the views and postulates of work forces that help to aggravate tension. These same barriers make it impossible to alleviate situations of conflict when they arise.

As a member of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who is responsible for the moral-political state of our functionaries, I know very well how deeply they feel about social unrest and how they share the troubles of daily living. Being aware of the crux of the situation, our functionaries continue to demonstrate dedication and strong discipline. The functionaries of the security service and the militia are also worried by the ineffectiveness of the economic reforms, which are the only measure that could free our people from economic unrest and frustration, which are not only a source of internal danger, but also a serious factor in encouraging crime.

However, we need social calm and an absolute respect for our laws before we can succeed in realizing the economic reform. The situation calls for bold and radical decisions and consistent efforts to realize them. We need further efforts to make a much more thorough review of the structures responsible for administration and decisionmaking in order to make them capable of meeting the challenges posed by our reality. We need clear and socially oriented decisions to ensure that the goals and

priorities of socioeconomic policy can be realized and can be made to fit the current economic requirements and opportunities—in line with the spirit of the present economic reform. We also need a new phase of proreform accord, which is able to unite all people really interested in repairing the national economy and in socialist renewal.

Leszek Miller, first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Skierniewice Voivodship:

We are holding this plenum in an atmosphere characterized by a steep increase in social tension and in the activities of our political adversaries. That these adversaries exist is an objective fact, which does not depend on us. However, it is true that only our errors allowed them to gain their present influence, to promote their present activities, and to spread their present slogans.

How society conducts itself is based on its many motives. These motives include support for the general programmatic line of the policy of reforms and socialist renewal, support for the methods of solving painful problems, and a great deal of hope for our efficiency, enlightenment, honesty, discipline, and integrity in realizing our obligations.

There is also a great deal of disappointment, worry, regret, and unfulfilled promises and hopes. On the other hand, some people are convinced that we are unable rather than unwilling to achieve anything. There are many people who doubt our organizational and leadership talents. This is a bitter lesson we must learn from people's behavior.

A sense of danger channels people's efforts in two opposing directions. On the one hand, they may become a powerful force of development, one that triggers social energy, ingenuity, and innovation and, on the other, they may lead and do lead to social disintegration, to more intense economic chaos, and to the withering away of patriotic, democratic, and civic values.

What is to be done to strengthen the first trend and to weaken the second one? I think that we should begin with the economy. The basic issue is that not compromises, but objective economic laws are at last employed in our economy.

There is no reason for us to be self-satisfied, especially since there have been and still are many proofs that the condition of our economy continues to deteriorate and so does the manner of running it.

More important processes than those produced by price-income policy continue to take place in our economy, and various equally dangerous symptoms present in it may determine the fate of the reform.

The first fact is the increased subsidies provided by the state budget. The second fact is that there has been no progress in eliminating monopolies and in restructuring. The 1986-90 plan stipulates that 60 percent of investments will be decentralized and that 80-90 percent of the remaining 40 percent of investments will be assigned to so-called heavy industry. At the same time, agriculture's share in investments and the share of industrial production in consumer goods continue to go down. If nothing is changed, the final structure of production in 1990 may be worse than it was in 1985 and 1980.

The third fact is that there has been no progress in making various sectors of the economy equal, although the reform was supposed to thoroughly change the situation of state enterprises by freeing them from the shackles we put on them ourselves. It was not the devil who conceived the idea of bureaucracy and centralism; this idea was a product of a certain standard of human awareness. Today the state sector of the economy is the one that is most handicapped. We have an enormous debt to repay, namely, to free state and public assets from their shackles so that these assets can become an effective and efficient form of economic management and are able to effectively compete with other forms of ownership. No one can claim that that which is private must be always more effective.

I would like to make a few proposals in connection with the plenum reports. First, we should stick to a new time factor, that is, we must learn to achieve within weeks what took us months to achieve, to achieve within days what took us weeks to achieve, and to achieve within hours what took us days to achieve.

In view of that, proposals such as drawing up a new consolidation program within 3 months will not fascinate anyone. Second, we need to thoroughly change legal regulations in order to eliminate various restrictions that shackle one's militancy and enterprise, and to destroy the intermediate structures between producers and buyers. These structures must be destroyed, because practice has demonstrated that it is impossible to really modify them.

The third issue is to decentralize the government or to accelerate this decentralization. There must be nothing in this decentralization that might suggest that it is a favor to the people. One must be rationally convinced that those who need something know best what their needs are and also know how best to meet their needs and to solve their problems. This is to me a chance to stimulate social militancy, since it is public life that cements the state and not vice versa. The new law on people's councils are the right step in this direction.

The last issue is changing the image of party policy. I think that, in order to change the image of the party and its policy as functions of various parochial interests and aspirations, we must strengthen all those features that help to change this image. People generally assume that

our party is a party of acquiescence rather than of struggle. That image can be changed only if we become a party of social change and not a party that is for preserving the status quo. In a word, we should become a party of initiative and a party that is in opposition to the status quo.

Ireneusz Sekula, minister of labor and social policy: Inflation is the undisputed and basic economic reason for tension and conflicts. People see inflation as an unchecked increase in prices. The lack of balance, which would make it possible for prices to move with virtual freedom, is the institutional reason for inflation.

Taking advantage of all real possibilities to increase supplies, in the present situation we are able to achieve balance in only a very few areas. Because of social response, radical price movements have also been minimally effective. That is why I think that we need to freeze prices for a time and then to stabilize them to an extent, while trying to achieve economic balance, so that enterprises can regard them as a steady principle and not as a changeable decision.

In the past few months we have often heard people say that labor is cheap in our country, that labor costs are of little account in production costs, and that the situation is different in other countries. This is true, but the crux of the matter is not so much the cheapness of labor as the material costs, which are much higher than anywhere else.

The process of structural changes always takes a long time. The essential barrier to this process is also a real balance of social forces which are objectively interested in preserving the present structures.

Heavy industry's large enterprises and their work forces are not interested in losing their dominating position. Only a strong and determined center, one which is capable of opposing the pressure of various branches enjoying the support within the party, can protect the interests of those enterprises that are to be established as pioneers of modernity.

That is why these issues must be discussed at party forums. Today, when we are able to see mining problems much more acutely, we must ask ourselves, no matter how greatly we respect miners' toil in producing coal: Is it worth producing? Young miners continue to ask the same question, because they regard their wages, which are higher than anywhere else, as too low in relation to their production efforts. We also have to ask ourselves whether the public outlays used to develop the mining industry produce and will produce the desired results. For dozens of years the coal industry has been one of the leading and driving factors in the development of our economy. Our energy industry, the production of heat, metallurgy, and some branches of chemistry are based on coal.

However, the geological conditions of coal extraction continue to deteriorate, and it is necessary to dig deeper and deeper. To produce a tonne of coal at the depth of 1 km you have to consume the energy contained in 300 kg of coal. This means that outlays to maintain the present level of production are bound to increase.

Coal mining requires increasing outlays and produces relatively diminishing returns. One of the present reasons for the existence of this state of affairs is the fact that in 1987 we were still able to export 31 million tonnes of coal, which earned us almost Z192 billion in socialist countries and over Z200 billion in the countries in the second payment area. However, the end of this export is looming. I think that it is high time to realize that coal production will cease to be the locomotive of our economy.

That is why we must devote our investment funds to those branches of industry which, when suitably developed, will be able to ensure exports that will eventually make it possible for us to pay for imports of the necessary energy sources.

We must replace the present wage and price race by an entirely new philosophy of fixing wages that should be tied to specific results of the collective efforts of work forces in enterprises and elsewhere. This calls for abandoning the philosophy of payments for the individual elements that make up the toil of a worker and for treating the process of work, works results, and the wages for them as a single whole. The experiments with this kind of remunerating the workers employed on collective work continue to produce encouraging results. Such methods of remuneration should and can be employed in many sectors of labor and be used in enterprises as such and in individual teams or brigades with the help of in-depth economic accounting. We are now working on such a solution with regard to the new wage system in mining.

The new wage philosophy also requires a new philosophy of labor law, whose present protective function, which was developed as long ago as the period of capitalism, was primarily designed to ensure that the worker discharges his duties conscientiously and that the risks entailed in uncertain results of economic performance should be borne in principle and exclusively by the employer, that is, by the capitalist owner.

Today the independent and self-financing enterprise expects that workers take active care of its interests, and self-management bodies create for them possibilities for effectively influencing the economic results of the enterprise's performance. That is why it is absolutely reasonable to enable workers to participate fiscally in the economic successes of the enterprise. On the other hand, workers should reciprocate by suitably footing the bill for the bad economic situation of their enterprise.

We must strengthen the independence of enterprise and the position of the manager, improving the mechanisms of management, mainly with the help of fiscal measures. Our fiscal regulations in this respect, especially in respect to subsidy and taxation policy, are not very clear. The excess of correct goals implemented with the help of these regulations is responsible for the fact that the effectiveness of management is highly unsatisfactory and the negative sideline results at times invalidate accruing benefits.

We must ponder the line of the general transformation function of the state and how to get workers interested, not only in the current results of enterprises' performance, but also in their long-term development. In such cases the transformation of enterprises into companies, in which workers participate, should become a way of economically strengthening the principles of self-management and self-financing.

It is worth pondering the role of the state in developing the policy of wages, especially the policy of labor contracts. Some of the present solutions are evidently products of the period of the command economy. The minister continues to be a party to the collective contract, although he possesses no funds under the reform. This solution has been adopted because there is no suitable and representative institution that can take care of the interests of employers and managers. In the countries with a market economy, employers' unions are partners in the talks with trade unions. Under our conditions, those partners should be represented by similar organizational structures associating employers and, above all, managers as well as, perhaps, chairmen of self-management bodies.

Such structures, including, for example, industrial chambers, and requiring the strengthened position of managers, who should be strongly interested in obtaining good economic results in their enterprises, would help us to place more effectively the wage disputes in the hands of trade unions and managers.

Jozef Smolarz, Central Committee member and private farmer from Dys village, Niemce Gmina, Lublin Voivodship:

Everyone works to ensure his childrens' future. This is the way of nations. It is our wish that those among us who will join the government should ensure conditions for their own children. Parents often have to work in shifts, but I think that after so many years we should see that the head of the family earns enough to support his wife and children.

My predecessor said that we should give up mining as an ineffective sector of the economy. Perhaps we should really produce as much coal as we need to meet the country's requirements. Let us think of something effective. I suggest that we invest in farming, because it may really have to contribute to the country's development. Of course, we must not give price anarchy its head. A kg of raspberries does not have to cost us Z600 or more. But he who sells raspberries is not always responsible for their prices.

Freezing prices is not a good method either. Interest groups may have their prices increased one after another and eventually the economy may reach a state of disarray. Nor do we need any freezing of wages in the face of the experience that shows that we lack economic consistency.

Depending on the cirumstances, we apportion responsibility in different directions. One time we say that the government is responsible and then that the party is. Responsibility is indivisible. Many of the people who are here and those who are members of the Politburo are responsible for the decisions made several years ago.

We must go back to the family, because the family is the only institution through which we can improve the country's situation. But to do this, we need moral and economic consolidation.

Jerzy Tyminski, Central Committee member and head of the Warsaw Institute of Agricultural Construction, Mechanization, and Electrification:

At the beginning of this discussion it was said that our positions differ. I was very pleased to hear for the first time at such an important meeting that Comrade Baka holds different views than Vice Premier Sadowski on solving various issues. This is new thinking, and what really matters is that we no longer say at Central Committee plenums that we are unanimous on every issue. The thing is that we should make considered decisions resulting from very profound discussions and even disputes. Under such conditions we will be certainly able to reach useful and meaningful conclusions.

We are short of goods for sale and our shops are becoming increasingly empty. Our uncertain situation and the fact that our comrades and all our people expect us to make decisions favor that state of affairs. I share the view of one of my predecessors that weeks and days and not months should be decisive in this regard. All kinds of preparations take much too long, and that is why problems ennervate us and make many efforts useless. Our actions must be speedy, and the government must ensure that they are.

We must not agree with the claim, which has been made from time to time and which has also been made here, that actually we are all responsible for the present situation, because we had at one time adopted all those directive measures. If at the Central Committee meeting we adopt directive measures and if the government agrees to these measures, then it is the comrades in the government who are responsible for the implementation of these measures and who have to account for them. If they see that that under the given conditions they are

unable to implement these measures, they should let other people do this job. What I am saying is no witch hunt and I apologize for my candor. What I mean is that government work is a normal pattern of efforts and responsibilities by individual persons. It is no shame anywhere when someone departs and when the government is changed if something has not come off for various reasons. That is why I am convinced that one of the decisions of this eighth party plenum must be such a decision and no other. Such a decision will be a response to the thousands and thousands of our party members who are waiting for this decision.

Since historical conditions, people-to-people relations, interparty and coalition relations, and the general atmosphere are changing, we should develop new forms and a new style of party work. Some comrades have alleged here that the meetings of our primary party organizations are not militant enough, that some party members do not demonstrate that fighting spirit that every party member should display, and that it is still difficult to establish who is responsible for what.

We should look for a new style of party work. Perhaps this is not an immediate task, but mentioning I would like to propose that one of the plenums should be devoted to this new style of party work in the broadest sense of the word.

In the past few months much has been said about wage and price problems. It has been proposed here to freeze prices and wages, but I do not think that this should be of any advantage in the present situation. I share the fears of the comrades who say that there are always those who at once defy all the wage and price restrictions. I have in mind the experience of many countries that froze wages and prices in order to combat inflation, but after some time prices would again greatly increase.

That is why I do not think that freezing prices and wages is the right way. I must confess that I have heard with pleasure Comrade Sekula's speech, because many of his proposals are good. The only thing that bothers me is that those proposals are so late. I wonder whether the government was not aware of certain issues and certain solutions much earlier. I am in favor of consistent efforts to find out whether people stick to the responsibilities for realizing various decisions. Everyone must account for his efforts. I must account for my efforts as the head of my institute and so must the ministers, the premier, and the Central Committee members for their own efforts to discharge their duties. There must be no passing the buck.

Jozef Florek, machine operator in the Piast coalmine in Tychy:

I have seven sentences to reply to Minister Sekula's statement. People with common sense do not think that the mining industry will act as the locomotive of our economy. There are no plans to this end, as far as I know. Katowice people would be very pleased if coal extraction were reduced, because we are short of over 100,000 workers in services alone, without taking the processing industries into consideration. There has already been enough ecological damage caused by a very high extraction of coal. The issue of coal sales to foreign countries is a pure calculation on the part of the minister. We know that at present we could sell more coal abroad if we had it. Unfortunately, there is still less and less coal for export, and this trend will continue. I can reassure the minister that, unfortunately, our competitors do not have to fear Poland as an exporter of coal. Finally, comrade minister, I wish to stress that it is the government and not the miners that determines how much coal should be produced.

Zdislaw Sadowski, vice premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission: It pleases me to be the next to speak after Comrade Tyminski, who raised important questions concerning personal assessments and responsibility. I personally agree with many of the postulates voiced by Comrade Tyminski, because I can identify with the reasoning behind them. However, I think that Comrade Tyminski made two mistakes. First, he suggested that members of the government just want to hold onto their posts and that they will go to a lot of trouble to do so. Knowing myself and my colleagues, that is not what the situation is like. On the contrary, it has to be borne in mind that people's motives are different. Second, he assumes that if someone does not agree with something, he should resign. For example, if I am outvoted at a meeting of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, then I should tender my resignation. That is how Comrade Tyminski thinks. So, I have to say that if I was guided by such motives, then, to my mind, I would be guilty of sheer megalomania. Decisions are and have to be collective. The requirement of personal responsibility has to be combined with the fact that we cannot avoid the collective nature of decisions, the subordination of the individual to the decisions of the collective, which is something that the individual may often find problematic.

There is no question of my shirking responsibility for any aspect of what I am personally responsible for, that is, the work of the Council of Ministers Committee for the Implementation of the Economic Reform for the past 15 months and the work of the Council of Minister Planning Commission for the past 10 months. I want to say that I have no reason to be ashamed of the work these organizations have produced during that period, but it is not for me to assess these things.

It is clear that there is a discrepancy, a divergence between the course of actual reform processes and public perceptions and assessments of them. This is not a new problem: There are always two dimensions to what we do— the real one, and what I would call the psychosocial one. The cause of the discrepancy that I mentioned is not the lack of a program, esteemed comrades. Indeed, I would venture to say that we have too many programs.

Comrade Tyminski demands a program, but the impression that I got from what he said was that he had only just found out about many of the solutions contained in the program for the second stage of the economic reform from Comrade Sekula. This would indicate that he did not go to the trouble of examining the program, although it was passed by the PPR Sejm no more than 6 months ago and its implementation has been underway since then. One typical Polish characteristic, something that we know well from history, is that we want to quickly change whatever we are doing. I have made it my motto to combat this characteristic, so that we can keep to the program that we adopt consistently and resolutely for a longer period of time.

To my mind, the program for the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform is precisely a program of this kind. It was carefully prepared over a long period of time and expanded by the inclusion of the outcome of the referendum and extensive public discussion as well as government, party, and Sejm decisions. I will deliver a report on how it is being implemented in a couple of days' time at a meeting of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission, which was established to oversee the course of reform process. It is often charged that the program contains too many legislative measures, but has little to offer people. First, this program was designed to cover a longer period of time, and—as is the case with anything designed with this in mind—it must be preceded by drafts, initial drafts, then implementation drafts, executive drafts, drafts that are increasingly detailed, and then, it can finally be put into effect. Of course, matters relating to drafts and legislation are the predominant ones for the first 6 months, but it is not true to say that we cannot talk about having achieved any practical results through these moves. If we view this question from the angle of the institutional goals contained in the program—there are about 20 of them, beginning with the main goal of increasing the supply of goods and services, and expanding enterprise and innovativeness through improving investment processes and boosting exports, and so on—there is no area in which progress has not been made as a result of preparing and implementing these solutions.

There are constant calls for the closure of inefficient economic units. Another thing, a feature of our society, is the belief that once something has been achieved, it does not count anymore. We all know this. I went to a certain trade fair where various companies were represented, and as I was talking to one of the directors that I met there, someone said to him: We can see that you are expanding production and that the reform is assisting you. The director's response was: "The reform? I am not aware of it at all." However, the fact of the matter is that his company would not be in existence were it not for the reform. He was not aware of this because it had already become the normal state of affairs for him. Comrades, this is something that we should remember. Everybody considers what has already changed in our country as a result of the reform to be the normal state of affairs. This is a good thing, this is how things should be, but people should just realize this. We are highly sensitive to any shortages, to what we do not have, but this does not mean that we are not making any progress in implementing reforms. This is an opinion that I will not only voice as long as I am vice premier, I will continue to voice it when I return to academic work, because it is an objective truth.

The reform process must be viewed exactly as it is, and not from the angle of its worst, but isolated aspects. Of course, currently we are in a very difficult market situation. This blinds people to everything else, that is understandable, and we cannot for a moment say that the situation is a good one. The situation is very bad, things have deteriorated drastically, and people are beginning to think that nothing is happening at all. However, reform is a long-term process, and viewed from this angle, what is happening at present is incidental—painful, unfortunate, and regretable—a situation that has arisen for various reasons, including mistakes, but nevertheless it is only incidental. We have no reason to believe that the situation is a catastrophe into which we are sinking deeper and deeper because that is not so.

The main issue here is the failure of the prices and incomes operation, particularly on the incomes side. What we have failed to achieve is an adjustment in wage growth in the economy as a whole so that it is line with the growth in prices, and this process has been accelerated in relation to our intentions. While leaving aside an evaluation of this concept for the moment, it should be remembered that it too was preceded by extensive discussion and was based on the argument that an operation of this kind was needed in order to halt inflation during the years 1989-90.

The leap in prices was achieved. It turned out to be unsuccessful in many respects, but it does not mean galloping inflation. What it is is a leap in prices. It has had a number of unintended effects, but it remains what it was, not galloping, hyperinflation, but a leap in prices. Of course, if we were only to stand by and watch what is happening, then it could turn into an inflationary process. However, there is no danger of this happening because we are doing a great deal. It should also be remembered that the danger does not come solely from the economic sphere, but also from the sociopolitical sphere—two spheres that interact very closely and are interdependent. This means that the course of economic process in the economy depends to a very great extent on the political situation and political solutions, and vice versa. These are two spheres that continually interact with one another. Taking all this into account, it must be said that the program for the second stage of the economic reform is being implemented with an unprecedented degree of consistency. There are no grounds for charging that the program is being implemented in an insufficiently consistent manner, that what it contains is not being implemented. This is something that is binding from the point of view of the government and has been

confirmed by the Sejm. Of course, this can be revised if there are sufficient grounds for doing so. However, the various calls that it is necessary to do this or that a.e being realized in accordance with the program. I really have not heard any new postulates, nothing that is new with respect to what has been written down and scheduled for implementation in some part of the timetable. However, what can be considered is whether the schedule is appropriate and whether some actions can be brought forward.

Today, we have heard a great many different postulates and demands to, for example, accelerate the restructuring of the economy. We have three interrelated processes: reforming, achieving equilibrium, and changing the structure, that is, restructuring the economy. All these things must be done at the same time. The situation is as follows: We have not succeeded in effecting equilibrium this year. We are not going to abandon our course of action because its main objective is increasing supply. There have been many charges, but the real picture is that there is instability in supply as well as in demand. Instability on the market side is of more importance at the present time because increased purchases of goods stem from an increase in the money supply and the use of monetary reserves. This is a very difficult phenomenon to get under control. At the same time, there really has been a certain regression in the supply side, in production of consumer goods, compared with last year. There are some phenomena that we can explain straight away, but there are others that are surprising.

In the case of some charges, we have to remember what the main reasons are for both inflation and the difficulties that we are experiencing in expanding output. These main reasons have structural causes that have been inherited from the past. If we had the Z900 billion annually that we have to assign for the servicing of our debt at our disposal, then of course the market situation and the supply of goods would not be such as they are. Someone might well ask: Why are we paying so much? We are doing this to get out of this trap as quickly as possible because we are still in a situation in which the interest that has not been paid is rising and the debt is increasing.

Can we not get out of this situation? We can, and we will if we act consistently. Repaying and stopping the growth of our debt is one of the basic goals of our strategy. However, this is not something that we can do at the expense of the marketplace. What we are trying to do is to take all possible action that will simultaneously increases exports and the supply of goods to the marketplace. That is the philosophy of our strategy, but it is very difficult to realize. There are times when exports are going well and then problems arise in the supply field. We are taking additional steps by making use of our extraordinary powers. For example, we have decided that concessions for exports cannot be granted if output for the market is falling. This is an example of how we are seeking to respond rapidly.

Restructuring is taking place on various planes. One such area is investment policy, where we have been instituting changes since the beginning of the year. No self-respecting politician specializing in economics can base his plans on short-term prospects. If he was to, then he would be no more that a driver who looks at what is happening no more than 5 meters in front of his automobile. What will happen later has to be borne in mind. For example, decisions about energy balances cannot be made on a short-term basis, but only for a period of at least 20 years, and that is what we in the Planning Commission are seeking to do. Nevertheless, we have already made a whole number of organizational decisions because the general direction of what we are doing is to reduce the burden on the economy of long-term capital-intensive projects. However, in actual fact, a solution of this kind is only contained in our long-term plan for the period up to the year 2000. It is only against this kind of background that we can talk about restructuring activities that are taking place sooner.

In this way, we are trying to draw comrades' attention to the fact that we cannot ignore longer term considerations and that one has to acquire real information about what is happening in all areas, not just in the worst one.

I would like to inform comrades that the government has been realizing postulates concerning rapid action for some time now. Quite a significant number of such actions have been taken under our special powers. There are so many of them that it is even difficult to list them all: regulations aimed at increasing supply, regulations aimed at curbing inflation, including ones determining wages, solutions that introduce discipline into the economy by way of wage instruments that are aimed both at companies and the use of external services.

Matters connected with curbing the investment front have reached an advanced stage, although there undoubtedly remains a lot that could still be done. There are issues connected with prices and wages discipline in economic units. Among the steps that have been taken by using our special powers are the dismissal or suspension of directors and cooperative chairmen who violate rational economic relations. I agree with what has been said at today's plenum to the effect that these steps should be sped up, but it is not true to say that we are abandoning such action. The fact that only five directors have been dismissed so far does not mean that this is the end of the affair. On the contrary, investigations are being conducted into cases involving another 65 directors. However, every case has to be examined thoroughly because there really are so many of them.

As far as enterprise amalgamation, separation, closure, and bankruptcy is concerned, a great deal has already been accomplished. Proposals to divide up enterprises

apply to 279 enterprises, and I would like to assure comrades that we appear to have received protests about every one of these cases. That is what the real situation is like: Protests are made and arguments are put forward, and if arguments are submitted, then they have to be examined, and they are being examined by the appropriate ministers and voivodship governors.

The closure of inefficient enterprise is another issue. As you know, comrades, 212 inefficient enterprises have been closed down, but the list of candidates for closure is much larger, and it is the same story all over again. These are very difficult steps to take. If someone were to accuse us of incompetence in this respect, I would not share their opinion because the closure of large enterprises is not a simple matter that can be decided quickly. I have a moral right to say this because I remember well that at one plenum in this very same hall there were even calls for the closure of the big enterprises that we are constantly talking about now, which provides a certain justification. The matter is still in progress. However, there are the social and political aspects as well as the economic one. After all, we must know what we are going to do with these people and what solutions must be prepared. Some of the proposals made by comrades make it seem as if they want to see the matter settled now. If that really is the way that we want to implement the proposals, then we have to be able to pay for unemployment in our country. This is not something that we want, and so far this has been, rightly or wrongly, one of the basic principles of our reform process. I have been defending this principle very consistently for a number of years. We are seeking to organize the labor market and labor principles so as not to have to resort to this instrument. I cannot judge whether we will succeed in this at the moment.

To end, I would like to tell you, comrades, that one of the important changes in our economic life is a change in the character, role, and methodology of central planning. This change has already achieved very far-reaching results with respect to financial and commodity planning, with a great emphasis on the financial side, which was not the case before. This is an evolutionary process that we are trying to accelerate, and this is reflected in the character of the draft annual plan for 1989, which has already been drawn up. It has been drawn up using a new methodological approach, and it covers preliminary provisions for 1990, which means, in effect, that it is a 2-year plan.

The plan in the form in which it is currently being prepared has not been published yet because the form that further work on it will take also depends on the decision made at today's plenum. One of the things that the draft envisages, in the field of prices and incomes policy, is a fundamental change compared with this year, but not a fundamental change with respect to the initial concept that I spoke about. It envisages a serious curbing of the process of prices and incomes growth. It has been prepared in the form of two variants. According to one, the annual growth rate for retail prices, without the effects of previous increases being carried over, would amount to about 16 percent. According to the second variant, the rate would even be as low as about 5 to 6 percent.

Both variants need to be described very carefully. The variant according to which price growth will be limited to about 5 to 6 percent is, of course, connected with a very severe curb on the rate at which people's incomes grow. We are dealing with the same issue again, and we will be dealing with it for a long time to come because it is a structural problem. Severe restrictions on the rate at which incomes grow always have this one potentially dangerous element, which always gives rise to doubts about whether the course of action is the right one. This is linked to the problem of a lack of appropriate incentives for expanding output. If we severely restrict income, then we cannot allow ourselves to have strong incentives, which is a problem that we have been grappling with this year.

That is what the picture is like, and I will sum it up once again by saying that everything that we are doing this year must be linked to and viewed from a long-term perspective. Only by viewing things from a long-term perspective, can we have an appropriate picture of what we really want, namely fundamental changes in the economic structure of the country.

Mirolslaw Okrasa, Central Committee member and senior employee at "PZL Hydral", hydraulic power parts combine in Wroclaw: Initially, strike action was motivated by purely economic considerations. Political postulates were only introduced later. Instability in the marketplace has various causes, but one of the chief causes is a lack of consistency in introducing economic reform in Poland. We have stressed that we must do this or that thing in this hall on more than one occasion. We then attended various meetings and said that things were not turning out right with the reform. There were matters that we had failed to see through to the end.

The Politburo reports that we read tell us that there are forces that are blocking the reform of the economy. Comrade Baka has said that we have lost 2 years in introducing the reform. I thing that the Polish public and ordinary party members are tired of the continual experiments that are being carried out on us in Poland. To my mind, Comrade Baka's report lacks two basic elements. First, it should have dealt with the question of who is actually blocking the reform process. It is about time that names or possible groups were named. Do we mean society, or plant directors, or members of the Government Presidium, or members of the government itself.

As for the second element that was missing from the report: I expected Comrade Baka to put forward some concept of how he sees the reform process today.

At meetings for various circles in Wroclaw, I have heard it said that since the very beginning of the reform of the economy, state enterprises, cooperatives, private firms, and all kinds of limited and unlimited liability companies have not been treated in the same way. Questions are being asked about how long the Finance Ministry intends to tax enterprises that are performing well while granting tax concessions and exemptions to plants that are causing our economy obvious losses. I think that it is time for Comrade Samojlik to create a uniform set of taxation principles that apply to all enterprises—both state and private enterprises—while at the same time eliminating various companies that have been recently established, companies that simply prey on enterprises that perform well.

Comrade Baka's report contained the same statements that we heard at the Third Central Committee Plenum. Speakers at the seventh plenum also said that we have to speed up the actions that we are taking. Regrettably, today we have to say that there are still plants that can afford to stage strikes while simultaneously accepting large injections of cash from enterprises that are working well, one example being the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. However, the fact is that shipyards are being closed all over the world because they cause economics losses.

The Politburo report talks about a prices and incomes freeze. Today, it is difficult to say whether this intention will produce results or not. This is especially true in view of the absence of consenus on this subject among Poland's leading economists. Comrade Baka and Vice Premier Sadowski illustrate this point.

That is why I think that the Central Committee should not adopt any resolutions on this subject. The decision should rest with the Council of Ministers. However, I think that in making such decisions, the Council of Ministers should make them apply to everyone without exception, including the miners who are currently on strike. If this is not the case, I foresee another wave of strikes.

The current situation is paradoxical. A fundamental right, the right to work, is being violated. The government of the PPR has a right to ensure that every inhabitant has an opportunity to benefit from this basic right.

Zdislaw Gmurek, member of the Central Committee and polisher at the "1905 Revolution" flax plant in Zyrardow, Skierniewice Voivodship: I am chairman of my local independent and self-managing trade union. I work as a polisher at the flax plant in Zyrardow in the chief mechanics department and have worked for 35 years. I have seen many good and bad things, but I will never forget how the work force was divided into two unions. That was not so long ago. Instead of working, the work force debated and bargained, and instead of producing, they held meetings and argued.

The memory of these days is a warning to us today. Half the members of the work force at our plant belong to our union. We occupy ourselves with workers' affairs, the things that trouble people, and we keep in touch with people very closely. Many of these matters are minor ones, but they are of great importance for the entire work force. One of our goals is concern for the factory, its present and its future. We want to be able to take pride in our work and what we produce. The feeling in other factories in Zyrardow is similar, although things are not at all easy.

We are not on strike, but this does not mean that we have no grievances. People have complaints about us, our union activity; they reproach us for being sluggish, lacking ideas, and lacking energy. Even if such criticism is unfair, we treat it seriously. We argue, but we are in complete agreement about one thing, that to share something out, we have to have something to begin with, that to have higher wages, output must be higher, and strikes do not serve this goal.

There is also much criticism that we would direct at the government. This criticism applies to the multitude of regulations that restrict our independence and our enterprise's ability to be flexible. This applies to taxation regulation above all; we are just not able to make head or tail of the regulations any more. Comrade Premier, try to interfere as little as possible in what we are doing in our enterprises. Trust in our judgment and our abilities, and finally free the reform! Let those who are better really be better and benefit more, and let those who are worse have less or nothing at all. Equality does not mean justice.

We view what is happening in the country just now with concern. It is simply difficult to believe in some of the things that are taking place. How is it that workers are trampling other workers' dignity as workers? How else can one view the use of force to keep people from going to work and the attitude of calmly looking on as our commonwealth is destroyed. What one wants to say is: Come to your senses, where are you going to work after this, how are you going to support your families!? Do you not think that you are going to create a gulf between yourselves and the rest of the work force?

The recent strikes have shown once again what the disbanded Solidarity union's activists are concerned about. The worse things are, the better the situation for them. The worse things are, the more dollars they earn, and the more personal publicity they enjoy. If there was a world championship for organizing strikes and wrecking your own country, they would have the gold medal in their pockets.

Now that I have mentioned pockets—the following thought occurred to me. What is happening there? I imagine it the following way: keep your head in the clouds, keep your speeches full of fire, and your hands in

your pockets. At today's plenum we have to say a clear no to the demolition of our fatherland, a no to lowering the standard of living of the workers class, and a no to Solidarity.

Barbara Krupa-Wojciechowska, member of the Central Committee, doctor, university teacher, and rector of the Gdansk Medical Academy: The current wave of strikes is entirely different from the one that took place 8 years ago. There is no mood of tension. Young people are, of course, striking, they are angry with us, because they think that we are the sole cause of everything that is wrong, that we are to blame for the housing shortage, and so on. However, I believe that we are not alone in being responsible for economic matters. I think that responsibility can be divided up equally between us and the opposition. The older generation, the older members of Solidarity expected us to produce some kind of economic move forward. Nowadays they would not join the Solidarity union as it was then, and I think that this phenomenon would be universal. However, what they fail to see is that this economic move forward will not be possible if the authorities are forced to spend their time "putting out fires" and strikes and will not be able to implement the reform. I constantly think that the current strikes are for show, that what the opposition wants to achieve is participation in decisionmaking about the processes involved in our country's development. As I think that the party is in good shape, it is time that we and the opposition stopped reproaching each other for mistakes. It is time for us to move forward. The proposals concerning coalition governments or a government of national accord that we heard mentioned here are problematic and interesting. However, we often forget that in a coalition, the party must be a different kind of party. Older people who joined the Polish Socialist Party or the Polish Workers Party, or have family ties with these parties, think that a new type of party should be a replica of the Polish Socialist Party or the Polish Workers Party. Some peasant activists are dreaming of a possible Polish Peasants Party. Christian democrats think that it might be possible to set up a Christian democratic party similar to the one that existed before the war in the emaciated and hungry Polish countryside. All this is untrue.

Somehow, by way of talks and discussions, we must reach agreement together about some better political state of affairs, some uniform vision of the new party. Surely we all agree that progress in implementing the reform also depends on fostering political ties in an appropriate manner. Personally, I think that the members of the opposition from the beginning of the 1980's are completely different people today. We must reach out to our opposition and give them an opportunity to come out without losing face. The best solution would be for the leaders not of Solidarity, because Solidarity no longer exists, but of the entire movement, which is not the same as it was 8 years ago, to take part in talks and for them to feel responsible to the same extent as we do. We have seen attitudes evolve and many changes take place during the political process that has occurred over the last few years. Some of the delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress illustrate this: At one time they used to stir up trouble in much the same way as the opposition, but now they have joined us, stand alongside us, and some of them are doing a very fine job. They are entirely different people.

If we suppose that members of the opposition are also patriots who only think differently, then I believe that after 7 or 8 years they have also changed, just as we have changed. Quite simply, we must start to tackle the job together, because by throwing wrenches into the works, we will only make the machine stop working and bring about the collapse of the republic.

Ryszard Brodowicz, member of the Central Committee, fitter at the "Polmatex-Wifma" textile trade machinery combine in Lodz: There is much bitter feeling among the workers class, a sense of grievance toward those who are in power, toward the party for not being consistent and rigorous enough in ensuring that the tasks that it assigns concrete people are accomplished. Workers believe that justice means the same laws and duties for everyone, and that those who have assumed more demanding tasks have also assumed greater responsibility.

In my opinion, in today's situation the burden of responsibility for the state of the country rests with the government to a great extent, but it also rests with the individual citizen. It is impossible to transfer all responsibility onto the government. That would be unjust. There are many issues that have to be dealt with. There is no one in the government or the economic administration who can provide sound arguments to justify why just demands and proposals made by work forces cannot be dealt with on the spot. I am not talking about forcing wages to spiral upward, but about settling issues that can be dealt with and are being dealt with where particular difficulties arise.

We cannot allow—although it has been said for a long time now that the various sectors of the economy are to be treated in the same way—the work forces of state enterprises to bear the burden of the costs of the changes that are taking place. It is a question of spreading out this burden and these costs in as just a fashion as possible. These are fundamental issues and it is not true to say that workers are jealous about incomes. Workers are not jealous of the income that someone might get for the work that he does, but they do not accept and will not accept that someone will prey on their work. Today's situation is not one in which all the citizens of this country observe the law. This is evidenced by the fact that even an issue of the highest kind, the good of the fatherland, is not deemed equally important by everyone. We cannot sit down at the same table and hold talks with people who do not respect and do not recognize what is binding on all of us—respect and love for the fatherland, respect for the law, which are things that

provide cohesion. We have to talk to everyone who might seek to improve things in the republic, but we cannot agree to talks with enemies.

I think that the decisions and directions of the activities that will be approved will, at the same time, define management methods and methods of operation for the near future. The most important thing in the present situation is the protection of the market and the Polish economy. We cannot allow what is created by way of our joint efforts to be negated and destroyed by irresponsible people who are paid from outside.

I am in favor of a rigorous and clear-cut definition of the direction of economic activities and a readily understandable definition of what is called the economic game; a definition that can be understood by every citizen and everyone who wants to work in this country.

Zdislaw Rozbicki, Central Committee member and deputy commander of the Silesiam Military District: The entire history of the Polish People's Army shows that soldiers have never been indifferent toward important events, especially when the party and people's power needed our moral and political support, and, I think, not only that. Having constant, professional ideological and political contact with the cadre, soldiers, as well as with recent graduates of civilian colleges, agricultural training schools, and the military's civilian employees, I can inform the Central Committee, the party, that these people have been adamant in their criticism of the strikes, those who have organized strikes, and those who have been taking part in them. They have been particularly critical of those who have manipulated part of our young workers.

We have been hearing demands for the restoration of the disbanded Solidarity union once again. The scenarios of destruction, the disruption of public order, the creation of obstacles to national accord, in which progress is being made, scenarios drawn up by well-known specialists in fighting against the socialist state, scenarios that foresaw the introduction of attempts to repeat a story that all of us here are familiar with into the mood of dissatisfaction among some working people. The feeling among the troops of the Silesian Military District, and not just among them, is that this is the disbanded Solidarity union—the supposed trade union that has gone down in the pages of our recent history—the organization that specializes in strikes. What concerns us, soldiers, is that the strikes severely weaken the national economy. They strike at the workers themselves, at the economic reform, and weaken Poland's security—the foundations of its security—and the country's credibility in the eyes of its allies and the international community.

We have many examples from voivodships where units of the Silesian Military District are based that where managers and primary, trade union, and youth organizations acted resolutely, where management was not isolated but had the support of the aktiv, the situation was kept under control.

The military-party aktiv in our district, as in other districts of the various branches of the Armed Forces, believes that the correct courses of activity that were adopted by our party, particularly at the fourth and seventh Central Committee plenums and somewhat earlier, at the so-called Lodz plenum, still have not been introduced into our concrete activities in many regional party echelons. There really is too little contact with directors and secretaries of plant committees and primary party organizations. We still see the same faces at many meetings of the regional aktiv. The regional party aktiv, which exercises leadership, must expand its influence on the broad community. We must seek allies for reform-oriented activities in every plant and institution, and be directly involved in debate, in presenting our party's and our state's interests in political clashes. This is because so far we have yielded too much of the battlefield to the enemy in many communities.

One of the comrades who spoke yesterday talked about the need to hold a plenum on the subject of the character of party work and the formulation of new more effective forms of party activity. This has already been done. I think that what we need is not another plenum on the subject of the character and the form of party work, but have regional party echelons account for how they are implementing the decisions made by the Central Committee. The Central Control and Auditing Commission is trying to do this, but this is something that has to be done by regional cells, and by them first and foremost.

The Armed Forces work with young people above all. We more or less know what young people are like. However, what we do not know is what we should do to have young people on our side and not on the side of those who manipulate people for their own ends. On the basis of our experience, our assessment is that it is possible to work with our young people and that they are receptive to our arguments and reasoning.

I listened to yesterday's speech by Comrade Jerzy Szmajdzinski with mixed feelings. I expected him, the main board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and the organization's boards at the voivodship level to assume at least part of the responsibility for the fact that members of youth organizations at some plants have failed to act positively. You talk about dormitories where young people live. Who stops people from going there and speaking to young people. I personally proposed this a year ago, 2 years ago I made the proposal to the chairmen of voivodship boards: I said we will allocate you some of the time used for military training and go and speak to our students. There is no example of this having happened.

Comrades, do you want to act as guarantors for those who have broken the law, who have contributed to damaging the economy? My question is what instruments do you have at your disposal? What kind of influence would you have on the effects of such a guarantee? Would it not be no more than a slogan?

Henryk Plocha, member of the Central Committee and director of the State Farm at Wiecbork in Bydgoszcz Voivodship: We have been talking about the development of agriculture and the food industry. Yesterday, for example, I heard that we are using dollars to buy margarine. This gives rise to the question: Why did we not spend this money on a margarine plant? After all, we have 1.2 million tons of rape. We can process about 800,000 tons of it, and so the material is there. Of course, we can say that we did not have the dollars in the past, and it was not possible to buy a plant. However, the dollars had to be found today, because the market situation is awkward.

We have always taken stock of what we have and divided it up. We are doing so today, with almost all the food that we have, and we are always short of food. Perhaps we should have tried to do things rather differently. Let us take meat rationing as an example—an unpopular subject. This is definitely a bad time, because there are shortages of meat, but it would surely be possible to move away from rationing gradually. I do not know whether sales of beef on the bone really have to be rationed.

The command system with respect to state farm production has been reduced. This has produced results. However, this still has not brought complete reform. It turns out that there are not in fact such great differences between the state sector and the private sector. There are no strikes in agriculture, and there will not be any. There can be no delays in agriculture, because if you do not sow anything, then you will not gather anything. So, no one toys with the idea of staging strikes all that much.

One of the political demands that we have been hearing is the registration of Solidarity. I think that it is the political party for strikes. It breaks the law. We also should not forget where it is funded from. After all, the person who pays can demand what he wants, and he has a right to do so.

My view is that we cannot register this union in inverted commas, this party. However, assuming we do this theoretically, what will the result be? It will undoubtedly create deep divisions among work forces. We will certainly see a lot of wage bargaining, attempts to get hold of as much as possible. So, looking at this in practical terms, it would surely spell the end of our weak economy. This will also cause much worry among party members.

I would like to express my view: The present unions, our class unions, represent the interests of work forces correctly. Of course, this applies to the overwhelming majority of trade union organizations. I am not talking about some isolated cases where the situation is different, but about the 7 million-strong trade union movement.

The role of party echelons should be one of strengthening the class trade unions in terms of organization and ideology. That is the first thing. Second, I think that in the socialist plant that wants to consistently implement the principles of the second stage of the economic reform, there is no room for divisions, for demands aimed at restoring things as they were before, and disruptions of work and labor discipline.

Ryszrad Wojna, Sejm deputy and journalist: I get the impression that many people in our society and many members of the party do not realize that what the party decided at the last two meetings of the Central Committee was not the introduction of improvements to the system, but its general reorganization. To my mind, the last two meetings of the Sejm were about introducing qualitative changes in the substance of socialism in Poland, a fundamental adjustment of institutional mechanisms, and a reassessment of many of the current criteria of socialism. The leading role of the party has not assumed some permanent form once and for all. That would be at variance with the laws of life. The leading role of the party and the ways and means by which it fulfills this role must be modified to suit the new period of history that we are entering.

Today's party should provide an answer for itself and for society to the question of what form its leading role and position in the state should take, a state in which the development of opposition groups that vary according to the level of their acceptability and the extent to which they question current institutional forms is an advanced process.

In my opinion, this process began exactly 8 years ago with the signing of the Szczecin, Gdansk, and Jastrzebie accords. Essentially, what the accords meant was recognition by the party of the fact that society, including the workers class, is influenced by sets of values other than those that the party had used to define our system up to that time. The point that we have now reached is one in which the party should provide new reasons justifying the provisions of the Constitution that accord it a guiding role in society and a leading role in the state. The use of the term a "role of serving" to supplement these provisions does not treat the matter exhaustively.

No one can cancel out the services that the party has performed in the history of People's Poland, but today these grounds by themselves do not suffice. Today, toward the end of the 20th century, many citizens, especially young people, are questioning the fundamental principle of Polish policy, which is that the party is the leading governing force, because it has been anointed for this role by history. This meeting of the Central Committee should result in the broad dissemination of the truth that the reason for the party's leading role today is that it is the only real force that is capable of instituting fundamental political and economic reforms in our

country. It is the only force that is capable of reorganizing the Polish model of socialism in accordance with Polish ideas about what it should be like.

We will only win extensive social support by being the vanguard of reform, by succeeding in reorganizing our system so that the transition from authoritarian government to democratic socialism is universally acceptable. Essentially, history has yet to see an institutional system of this kind.

The undermining of Stalinism in the socialist camp began with the position adopted by our party in 1956. Unfortunately, this reorganization of the functions and goals of the leading role of the PZPR is being checked by the remnants of a Stalinist concept of a new type of party that continue to weigh heavily on the party. The extent to which this is true is evidenced by the fact that thoughts expressed from this rostrum by Prof Ackowski were neither discussed during nor after the seventh plenum.

Comrades, it is also not possible to equate the idea of a governing party with a progovernment party. Individual groups within the party, which have general party goals as their basic guideline, should also be able to communicate their own views on issues, program proposals, and personnel postulates to public opinion. This is a basic condition for modernizing the ways in which the party exercises its leading role in society.

Throughout Poland, party echelons and groups of comrades are always engaging in dialogue or remaining in conflict with opposition forces. In wishing to politicize our party, we must grant even the lowest-level party organizations the right to conduct a dialogue with opposition activists or opposition groups. We belong to one nation and we will be living together and working together. In my opinion, we will be able to release the energy contained in individual party communities by decentralizing the rules of the political game and making them more flexible. Might this not lead to dissension within the party and undermine its unity? If this unity is to be genuine and creative, it should be affirmed with respect to the issues that are of the greatest importance and not necessarily with respect to all issues. Of course, I realize that this is unacceptable and even incomprehensible to many comrades. In as difficult an economic situation as ours, radical elements will not be silenced by way of persuasion. However, we should strive together with moderate opposition groups to create an appropriate form of pressure from public opinion that would limit the scope of extremists' opportunities for action.

We are not in a position to do this by ourselves. The communiques issued after the last Politburo meeting rightly indicated the importance of the role of the Catholic Church in this respect.

Essentially, the central point of dialogue with the opposition is its attitude toward the people's state. Many of our political opponents reason in the following way: The party identifies with the state, and so the state belongs, above all, to the party and not to the people as a whole. If this is the case, then the opposition feels that it has a moral right to separate the concepts of nation and state and to set the first concept, the nation, above the second. This is exceptionally dangerous for both the nation and the state in the long-term. However, we will not overcome this situation by issuing appeals, but by reformulating the concept of the way in which the party exercises its role.

This reformulated concept should include a real opportunity for allowing other social and political forces to effectively influence the course of events in the state. We do not conceal the fact that the limit for compromise is set by those institutional values that we associate with socialism and are deeply instilled in Polish society. We face a historic task. The party, which has special rights and obligations, is setting itself the goal of introducing institutional mechanisms into the system of government that would permit not only the forces comprising the governing coalition, but also those who see themselves as being members of an opposition operating within the framework of the existing constitutional order to act and assume responsibility within the state.

We face a great opportunity, an opportunity that has never before existed in the 45 years of People's Poland. It stems from a change for the better in international relations and, above all, from the Soviet Union's new political course embodied by Mikhail Gorbachev. However, in our present situation, whether this opportunity is utilized is not a foregone conclusion. Much, indeed much, depends on the outcome of this meeting of the Central Committee.

Jerzy Szmajdzinsk, Central Committee member and chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth: Perhaps I was simply misunderstood yesterday. I pointed out that there are weaknesses and untapped areas in our activity, and that we are not using all the instruments at our disposal, not just with respect to young workers. However, I said that our main weakness was ineffectiveness on the part of young people in solving their most pressing problems.

As for the question of guarantees: The opinion of the Katowice Union of Socialist Polish Youth organization—the largest in Poland, with a membership of 164,000—is that it is worth helping some of the young people who took part in the strikes and were manipulated, people who neither instigated strikes nor acted as storming parties. So, we believe and our aktiv believes that accord and talks should not only apply to older politicians, to avoid using some other term. They must also apply to young people, and if the Central Committee approves talks with people who think differently, then some comrades should accept that accord as something that should be sought with the younger, rather than the older, generation, because sorting things out solely with older people will not deal with the question of our future. That is the reasoning behind the proposal that I have made here.

Jerzy Romanik, Central Committee member, shot-firer and cutter-loader at the "Siemianowice" mine in Siemianowice, Katowice Voivodship: I am and always have been in favor of talks when the need arises and when circumstances encourage such moves, because effects are, of course, what matter in politics. However, there is one point that I would like to make: Talks should be held everywhere and not just in workplaces, because if they are not, then we will not only divide work forces, but will also place party and union aktivs in a difficult position. The workplace is not the right setting for discussion of this kind.

Second, while sitting here and listening to the criticism that has been directed at our government and our highest political bodies—criticism that is in a certain sense justified,—I nevertheless believe that we should defend and support the authority of our highest leadership as much as possible.

If the leadership does not enjoy authority, even the best program is doomed to fail. In fact, yesterday not one voice of criticism was raised about our principles for restructuring the economic and the entire process of reforming the economy in general. If we do not express unanimous support here for our political and economic leadership, then how we are we going to appear when we return to our work forces, what will we tell them? They will say: What sort of representatives are you? How did you manage to spend 2 days doing nothing, but criticizing? Has there been some voice of reason here that has said: "Comrades, but we are here to advise and to warn, and, of course, when the need arises, to dismiss people, but only after a certain amount of time."

People have to be given an opportunity and, quite simply, we also have to voice the whole truth that we described here, that our plans cannot succeed overnight. If we do not affirm unity, agreement, and resolve with respect to action and support for everything that we criticized so much here—sometimes the criticism was justified, but not, in my opinion, particularly so—then it will not just be the case that we are unable to convince our own aktiv, which is at present both determined and, at times, helpless. It is essential to leave this place united and determined to defend what we have decided.

More Eighth Plenum Floor Speeches

AU0309172288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed roundup of speeches from the floor of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August: "Discussion at the Eighth Plenum"]

[Text] We present below unauthorized, abridged versions of speeches during the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which have been added to the records:

Kazimierz Cichecki, Central Committee member and senior foreman at the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port: In no way did the performance of economic tasks, increase in wages, and climate of work foresee any likelihood of a conflict and immobilization of the port. I believe that a strike in an enterprise with good results, and with even better results likely to come, is a clear attack against the economic reform. Following news about the start of strikes in coal mines, there was a drastic increase in the activity of former "Solidarity" activists, who took control over the strikes.

On 17 August, the workers of the second shift commenced work normally at 0600. At about 0830, groups of workers from the equipment base and from the Romanian department began to convene, complaining about wages. In this situation, the management of the freight loading division attempted to hold talks—which turned out to be fruitless. The executive director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority also attempted such talks in my presence, and also without success.

Andrzej Milczanowski, a man from outside the port, was already among the dissatisfied dockers when the attempts to hold talks were made. Immediately, a strike was declared and a strike committee formed, which Milczanowski also joined. The newly-emerged strike committee put forth four demands, only one of which concerned wages, and the rest of which were clearly political and revealed the nature of the entire strike. The strike spread to other departments of the port and found fertile ground, especially because:

—Right now there is clear dissatisfaction with the state of market supplies, which is the result of inappropriate decisions concerning prices and wages made at the beginning of the year;

—There is inconsistency in adhering to present legislation (for example, paying the illegal strikers and reinstating the strike leaders);

—One can observe impunity, or very lenient fines, for all those who provoke social unrest;

—In the past, strikers obtained exactly what the present strikers are demanding, which is illustrated by the saying "We ask and do not receive anything; we strike and receive Z20,000."

Despite various efforts by the management, trade union, and party committee, we have not progressed very far in resolving the strike. The attempts to hold talks with the work force are constantly being torpedoed by a narrow group of "aktivists" from the Interfactory Strike Committee. To them, the affairs of the work force are unimportant, and their own political objective is to legalize the former "Solidarity." The continuing conflict in the port is firmly based on political demands, which not even the voivodship authorities have the power to grant, to say nothing of the fact that these demands are totally unreal.

I am one of the few people who have stood on both sides of the gate at different times. I say this because the present strike is different from previous ones. When I was chairman of a strike committee at this port years ago, the strike

was a workers' protest. Today it is completely different. It is a refined, premeditated action by politicos for whom sociopolitical reforms are irrelevent.

Extinguishing the strikes has been left to the management. Party members fail to understand the attitude of the center. They fail to understand the absence of any action or absence of any stance vis-a-vis these demands. The inspirers of the strike are not only putting political demands in first place, they are also making the realization of these demands a condition for an end to the strike. It is only the strike leaders who understand this game, not the workers taking part in them.

One more thing: There are fears that the authorities will foresake the use of methods foreseen by law, that they will order the management to pay the strikers for the time they have spent on strike, and will not apply disciplinary measures. Those who are working normally and who condemn the strikes will construe this as surrender.

The situation that has emerged requires clear, determined political action and the drawing of conclusions vis-a-vis those who are striking. Any other approach to the problem will make the dedicated, sociopolitical aktivs in the party cease their work, to say nothing of the fact that many young people and managerial cadres might leave the party. I say this because, judging from the work of the cadres in the port management, these are cadres with a high level of expertise and political ethics.

I motion the following: Do not reactivate "Solidarity," do not pay for participation in the illegal strikes. I say: Observe the law, in other words do not let it be broken.

Jan Zarzyka, Central Committee member and miner at the "Moszczenica" coal mine in Katowice Voivodship: In the opinion of the miners, citizens of Jastrzebie, and party members, the social conflicts that have developed into strikes are the result of unfavorable social and economic processes in Poland. It is generally felt that reform activity so far has been incohesive and self-annihilating.

It is generally felt that the central authorities have no clear idea of further action. They bandy about theory at a time when people expect practical activity. People have been and still are ready to make sacrifices, but they must know why they are to make these sacrifices and for how long. This has to be clear to every citizen.

The mining industry has found itself in a peculiar situation in relation to other industries. There are various accusations, conveyed via the mass media and party bodies, about how the mining industry is dragging the rest of the economy downwards, how it is engulfing enormous resources which could be spent on other modern industries, that it is time to put an end to this, and so on.

Let us consider another problem. The mine, a powerful work place employing 7,000-9,000 people, is not independent, self-managing, and self-financing. No wonder the strike demands include changes to management methods in mining. Another source of the miners' unrest and anxiety is the continuing dispute between the miners' trade union and government on the subject of the privileges contained in the Miners Charter.

The bad wages system and the growing mountain of absurdities are also not without influence on miners' attitudes. Why is it that as much as 40 percent of the wages of coal face workers is earned on Saturdays and Sundays? A change in basic increments was announced, which was supposed to boost wages, yet in July, miners failed to get even a glimpse of this wage rise, and they went to the management asking why they were earning less than before. The same happened on 15 August. The consternation was great. There is no one to explain that everything is all right.

Now let us consider the city of Jastrzebie itself. It has a population of over 100,000, over a dozen churches, several houses of culture—but not a single movie theater. It has a network of shops smaller than anywhere else. If only supplies in these shops were normal; but the actual picture in food shops looks like this: lumps of beef hanging from hooks, and a piece of sausage on the counter.

In April and May, the firm attitude of party and youth association members, and in some mines even trade unionists, prevented an outbreak of strikes, despite intense efforts by activists from illegal "Solidarity" structures. The work forces did not give them their support and waited for the central authorities to react against the striking work places. Then, wonder of wonders, the strikers received remuneration for the time they had spent on strike, and those work places that were running at a loss are still swallowing public funds. The strike leaders are still in good health and in a good political mood.

My colleagues ask me: Where is the trade union law? Where is there an observance of law and order? Where is there any consistency in handling the illegal strikes? Our work forces say one cannot respect authorities who do not even respect their own laws. In view of this situation and these social moods, did the strike leaders, acting with absolute impunity, have any difficulty in winning over a part of the work force? After the next payday, it was enough to enter the mine, gather a few people, make noise, voice a few catchy slogans, win over a few miners by force or persuasion—and in a few minutes, the group of protesters grew to over 500.

Now decisions are being awaited. Is it forbidden to apply the law to those who break it? Believe me, the mine aktivs do not understand why this is so. This is giving rise to speculation and is undermining trust.

The central and voivodship authorities must treat the situation of Jastrzebie the way it ought to be treated, or else this underfinanced, neglected, ill supplied, and yet money-laden city will be a source of unrest at every opportunity.

Ceausescu, Arap Moi Start Official Talks

AU0609113688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 6 Sep 88

["Romanian-Kenyan Official Talks Start"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 6/9/1988—Official talks started at the Presidential Palace in Nairobi on Tuesday morning between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu, and Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, president of the Republic of Kenya. Aspects of bilateral relations and international questions are approached.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his belief that the current top-level meeting, the talks it occasions would mark an important moment in the development of the ties between Romania and Kenya.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his confidence that the present Romanian-Kenyan dialogue would give an impetus to the links of many-sided cooperation between Romania and Kenya.

Nairobi Activities Reviewed

AU0609172988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1654 GMT 6 Sep 88

["Visit by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu to the Republic of Kenya"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 6/9/1988—President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Mrs Elena Ceausescu laid a floral wreath at the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial in Nairobi.

The ceremony was attended by Stefan Andrei, Ioan Totu and other Romanian officials.

Present were the speaker of the National Assembly of Kenya, Moses Kiprino arap Moi, members of the Kenyan Government and other officials of the host country.

The national anthems of Romania and Kenya were played.

A minute's silence was observed.

The same day the Romanian people's dinstiguished messengers visited Park Uhuru in the capital city where, as a homage to the Kenyan people's liberation fight, the Monument of Independence and National Unity was built.

According to tradition, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were invited to plant a tree as a symbol of the lastingness of the Romanian-Kenyan relations, of the mutual wish to steadily develop the ties of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were guests to the great complex "The Kenyan Industrial Groups" in Nairobi.

The distinguished guests were welcomed by the minister of industry, D. Otieno, by the chairman and the director-general of the enterprise and by members of the management board.

Welcomed by workers in a festive atmosphere, the Romanian people's messengers were invited to the festivities hall where they learned about the activity of the group of enterprises, and economic state organization created shortly after the proclamation of independence in order to grant technical and financial assistance to small and medium enterprises.

Referring to his talks with Kenya's President in Bucharest and Nairobi now, Romania's president showed that good understandings were reached with regard to growing relations between the two countries, and expressed his hope that the Kenyan industrial groups would take a still more active part in that collaboration. The Romanian head of state's appreciations were joyfully received by the attendance.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were invited to sign the visitor's book.

The distinguished guests also visited the tools and plastics workshop.

Andrei Signs Economic Agreement

AU0609182388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1751 GMT 6 Sep 88

["Romanian-Kenyan Agreement Signed"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 6/9/1988—In accordance with the understandings reached by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenya's President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, an aide-memoire was signed regarding the further increase of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Kenya.

The document was signed by Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, and the Kenyan minister of industry, Dalmas Otieno.

The protocol stipulates actions apt to ensure the further development of bilateral economic collaboration, more particularly in industry, mining, geology, wood-working, agriculture as well as the increase and diversification of commercial exchanges.

Ceausescu, Arap Moi Hold Talks

AU0609181788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1703 GMT 6 Sep 88

["Romanian Kenyan Summit Official Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 6/09/1988—Official talks took place between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu, and Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, president of the Republic of Kenya, at the Presidential Palace in Nairobi, on September 6 in the morning.

Participating in the talks were: for Romania: Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, other officials; for Kenya: R.J. Ouko, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, K.N.K. Biwott, minister of energy, E.W. Mwangale, minister of agriculture, D. Otieno, minister of industry, K.K. arap Sego, minister of commerce, other officials.

President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi greeted in that context as well the visit paid to the Republic of Kenya by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu. He welcomed the distinguished messengers of Romania, expressing the confidence that the current summit meeting, the talks conducted and understandings to be reached would mark yet another important moment in the development of the Romanian-Kenyan relations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked on behalf of Mrs Elena Ceausescu and on his own behalf for the invitation to pay the visit, for the warm reception, for the good wishes and feelings of friendship shown to them and expressed the confidence that he new meeting was an expression of the positive course of the collaboration between Romania and Kenya, between the Romanian and Kenyan peoples, of the mutual wish to give those friendly relations a lasting basis and ever wider dimensions.

During the talks emphasis was placed with satisfaction on the upward course of the Romanian-Kenyan relations and the progress marked in the political, economic, technological, scientific and cultural domains. It was assessed that congenial conditions had been created for their expansion in future, on multiple planes, to mutual benefit. In the spirit of the long-term understandings and accords between Romania and Kenya, that take account of each country's priorities in economic and social development, the possibilities were singled out for the intensification of the commercial exchanges and of the cooperation in production, in various compartments: industry, agriculture, mining, geology, timber industry, etc. Emphasis was placed on the important place the Romanian-Kenyan Joint Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation had to play in boosting the economic, technological and scientific collaboration.

During the talks, the two presidents reached a string of joint conclusions regarding the ways and means of further developing the mutually advantageous Romanian-Kenyan collaboration, on the basis of which accords of cooperation are to be concluded the soonest.

Both parties assessd that in future as well, the development of the Romanian-Kenyan collaboration would firmly rely.

Upon the observance of the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, non-recourse to force or threat of force, as this fully accords with the interests of both peoples, with the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

The two presidents also made an extensive exchange of views on the major issues of international life. It was stressed that despite positive tokens that had appeared after the conclusion of the American-Soviet treaty on the elimination of the medium- and shorter-range missiles from Europe, like the cessation of the military hostilities between Iran and Iraq, the current international situation was still contradictory and complex and further sustained efforts were needed for the cessation of the arms race, a fast passage to concrete, actual measures of disarmament, nuclear above all, to the settlement of all states of conflict and tension in the world only by peaceful means, by political negotiations.

The need was also underscored to work in all firmness for a global solution to underdevelopment-related questions and the establishment of a new international economic order, set on full equality, mutual advantage and equity in interstate economic relations.

During the talks, President Nicolae Ceausescu placed emphasis on the serious widening of the gap between developing and developed countries, as well as on the need for cooperation among all these states with a view to finding a solution to lead to the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment, to favour the faster progress of all countries, of the backward ones in the first place, to secure the stability of the world economy, the peace and security of all nations. In that respect, Romania's president considered as highly important the calling of an international conference at the UN, to be attended by developing and developed countries, to identify mutually acceptable solutions.

Solidarity was reiterated with the African peoples' fight for the liquidation of colonialism, the safeguarding and consolidation of national independence, the states' self-reliant economic and social development.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed Romania's solidarity with the African peoples' fight against any forms of imperialist, neocolonialist exploitation and underscored the importance of the unity of action of Africa's countries for the strengthening of their political and economic independence, for their assertion on the road of economic and social progress. The racist, apartheid policy of Pretoria authorities against the majority coloured population in that country were firmly condemned. The two heads of state expressed their countries' active support to the Namibian people's just fight, under the leadership of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], its sole legitimate representative, for winning Namibia's national independence, according to the UN resolutions, and welcomed any positive action in that part of Africa.

In connection with the situation in the Middle East, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi showed that a solution should be urgently found to the conflict in that area by way of negotiations, by calling an international conference, under UN aegis, to be attended by all the state concerned, by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, Israel and the Security Council permanent members too.

Stress was laid on the contribution the developing countries, the small and medium-sized countries, the nonaligned countries, irrespective of their sociopolitical system, should make, on an equal footing, to the resolution of all complex problems facing mankind today. The need was underlined to enhance the role of the UN and of other international bodies in the international life, in the democratization of interstate relations and the provisions of a corresponding framework for all countries' participation in the settlement of the major issues of the contemporary age.

The exchange of views between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi highlighted the productive character of their talks, of the summit dialogue conducted in Nairobi, which, owing to their results and to the understandings reached, could offer a corresponding framework for the further expansion and development of the relations of friendship and manysided collaboration between Romania and Kenya, in line with the Romanian and Kenyan peoples' aspirations after progress. At the same time, it was stressed that the new Romanian-Kenyan summit dialogue was a most significant contribution to the cause of international peace, understanding and collaboration.

The talks passed in a cordial atmosphere of mutual friendship and esteem.

Official Talks Conclude

AU0609182088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 6/9/1988—The exchange of views between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the president of Kenya, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, continued on September 6 in the afternoon, in the same warm atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

The two presidents noted with satisfaction the fertile character of the talks, of the summit dialogue conducted in Nairobi, which, by the results and understandings reached, is of a nature to make a fine basis for the further expansion and deepening of the friendly relations of mutual collaboration between Romania and Kenya, in harmony with the Romanian and Kenyan peoples' aspirations after progress. President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi emphasized that the identical or very close stands of the two countries on matters of international life allowed for Romania and Kenya to actively collaborate in the world arena in order to contribute to the settlement of mankind's issues.

At the close of the talks the two presidents stressed that the new Romanian-Kenyan summit dialogue stood for a contribution of utmost importance to the cause of international peace, understanding and collaboration.

Dascalescu-Led Delegation Leaves for DPRK

AU0609181988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1721 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 06/09/1988—A party and government delegation, led by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Tuesday, September 6, to attend the festivities occasioned by the 40th creation anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The delegation were seen off at the Otopeni Airport by members of the government and other officials.

Serbian LC Stands on Kosovo Public Gatherings

LD0609173288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0024 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—At a joint session of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, which finished early this morning in Belgrade, standpoints were adopted on the protest gatherings and the meetings of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. These standpoints were considered and adopted at the demand of the 30 August LCY Central Committee Presidium, which called for the Executive and Political LC leaderships in the republics and provinces, the LC organization in the Yugoslav Peoples Army, and the Federal LC organs to assess these gatherings. The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium concluded that the crisis in Kosovo, which has become extremely strained, can be resolved only by the consistent, comprehensive, and strict implementation of the conclusions of the 9th LCY Central Committee session. There can be no further action in implementing LCY policy in Kosovo, as is stressed in the 16th LCY Central Committee session standpoints, without establishing the personal responsibility of all those who have failed to carry out their duties, the document adopted this morning stressed.

The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium state that it cannot be politically acceptable to generalize a specific standpoint, adopted in connection with a concrete and specific situation which arose on the occasion of the meeting in Novi Sad, by trying to universally apply it to successive gatherings and meetings being held in connection with the violence and terror being perpetrated against the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. In other words, it cannot be politically acceptable to condemn and ban these meetings regardless of their causes, motives, and content.

We cannot accept that the standpoint made based on the assessment of events in Novi Sad should be made the center of political attention at this juncture, because the 16th LCY session was devoted to a struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, in other words to the implementation of the conclusions of the 9th LCY Central Committee session and not to the trip of Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad. In this way the problems of the struggle against counterrevolution in Kosovo are being pushed into the background. This is happening at a time when Albanian nationalists and separatists are openly calling for an armed uprising against Yugoslavia, the Presidium and the Presidency document stresses, noting that in this connection the main political problem is that of the public meetings, and the main political task is worrying about the meetings of solidarity with the victims of violence in Kosovo.

The Presidium and the Presidency conclude that it is unacceptable for solidarity meetings in the SR of Serbia (above all, in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina) to be proclaimed dangerous demonstrations and undemocratic pressure which threatens Yugoslavia's security. Yugoslavia's security is threatened above all by counterrevolution in Kosovo and not by the very meetings that are being held against this, the Serbian Presidency and Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium standpoints continue. In the opinion of these two highest executive-political organs in the republic, the content and messages of the meetings held so far have expressed demands for socialism in Yugoslavia, for brotherhood, unity and equality. These demands make Yugoslavia stronger and destabilize the forces of bureaucratic resistance to changes in the country and the forces of resistance to the liquidation of counterrevolution in Kosovo.

The document cites many stances which were adopted at party plenums on Kosovo wich in practice have not been implemented, and states that the content, speeches, proposals, and political character of the meetings represent support for the LCY and the Serbian LC policy for a definitive solution to the drama of the Serbs, Montenegrins, and other non-Albanian citizens in Kosovo, which has been going on for many years. Regardless of isolated attempts by individuals to propose hostile standpoints, which are most frequently anticommunist and nationalist, and to offer solutions which are contrary to LC policy, all the meetings held so far represent a forceful demand to the leadership and organs to implement efficiently the policy of brotherhood and unity, class, and national equality.

After pointing out the full legitimacy of these gatherings, a legitimacy guaranteed by the Constitution, the Presidium and the Presidency note that the demand that Communists should prevent the organization of meetings and should not participate in them basically means a call for Communists to isolate themselves from the people and the historical aspirations of the LC. Since the advent of Comrade Tito at the head of the party, which marked a break with sectarianism and factionalism, such an example of advocating sectarian relationship toward the people has not been recorded. The Communists' place is in the people and with the people. The Communists of Serbia know this, and that is the way it will continue to be. By insisting on the prevention of gatherings, the LC organs would put themselves in the position of suspending the working people's and citizen's freedom and the rights guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution.

The Presidency and the Presidium in this respect stress that the danger of confrontation on a national basis must not be underestimated in a single specific case or in any circumstances, particularly when it is a question of the possibility of holding single nationality gatherings. In this respect the Presidium and the Presidency conclude that the warnings and assessments expressed by the LC leaderships of Bosnia-Hercegovenia and Slovenia should be respected in connection with the possible implications of any gatherings of that kind which may take place in those republics. Stressing this, the Presidium and the Presidency take as their point of departure the stance that the leaderships of the LC in the republics are the

most competent and most responsible for assessing the political conditions and the situation in their own environment and for determining ways of involving themselves in the struggle for implementing LCY policy on Kosovo and liquidating counterrevolution.

The LCY Central Committee at its sixth session, concluded that an a priori rejection and passive stance toward the mass, spontaneous activities of working people and citizens which are a reaction to real social problems and the needs of people today, does not befit the democratic character of activities in the SAWP, the Presidency and the Presidium document notes. It also adds that recent meetings have clearly shown that working people and citizens are proving that they are the fundamental subject in creating policy and that they can contribute to the resolving of social problems; therefore, they are seeking for their words to be respected and their stance to be taken into account, as well as their proposals and critical judgment.

At all the meetings of solidarity held so far, the broadest possible circle of Communists and other activists in the SAWP have understood that their place is among the citizens and working people. The only exception, the document stresses, occurred in the behavior of the leadership on the occasion of the meeting in Novi Sad, which the LCY Central Committee Presidium in fact assessed as irresponsible. The untenable and unrealistic nature of the demand for a ban on the public meetings is best shown by the fact that, despite the negative stance of individual leaderships toward these meetings, Communists have participated and spoken at them, as have representatives of the SAWP, the trade unions, the municipalities, and the veterans' and youth organizations.

In the part of the document dealing with so-called "unargued and unprincipled naming of individuals," the Presidency and the Presidium conclude that the Communists and the LC organs of Serbia are energetically against all unargued attacks and attempts to bring people into disgrace.

However, the document continues, reasoned criticisms and justified demands for accountability for the failure to implement tasks on Kosovo must be distinguished from such unacceptable actions. The failure to establish specific responsibility prevents the eradication of counterrevolution in Kosovo with all available state and political means and thus brings into even greater danger the fate of hundreds of thousands of people, threatening even more their national physical, spiritual, and family integrity.

The final part of the Presidency and the Presidium standpoints concludes that protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and solidarity meetings in connection with Kosovo cannot be stopped by any kind of decision or decree, but can only be overcome in the way proposed in the conclusions of the 9th LCY CC session—by the most energetic removal of the causes which have brought them about, in other words by halting the violence and terror being perpetrated against the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo.

The correct demand contained in the LCY CC Presidium standpoints that overall activity should lead toward a halting of protest gatherings can only be understood and interpreted in this way, unless one wishes to carry out a revision of the 9th LCY CC session, the Serbian Presidency and Serbian LC CC Presidium standpoints stress among other things.

Some members of the Presidency and the Presidium did not agree with the proposed text of the document, above all because, as Svetislav Stojakov [member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium] most thoroughly tried to express, it was too polemical, and it was not clear who the polemics were being conducted with. Nevertheless, after a short discussion, this document was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes. Only the provincial representatives in the Presidency and the Presidium did not vote for it.

Special LCY Congress Requested by Belgrade

LD0609200788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1924 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 6 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the party organization of the City of Belgrade today proposed that a congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) be convoked as soon as soon as possible.

Belgrade organization President Rados Smiljkovic announced that it is up to the LCY Central Committee to decide whether the congress will be a special or a regular one, the 14th, but that, in either case, it should be called as soon as possible.

The proposal was based on the Belgrade Communists' opinion that the country's top party leadership in its present structure is not able to meet its obligations and realize the tasks determined at the 13th LCY Congress in June 1986.

The meeting proposed that an initiative be launched for Dragoslav Markovic, former president on the Federal Assembly and Yugoslav party leader, to be expelled from the LCY and the Federation Council. The demand for his expulsion ensued because Markovic has, with his letters to the LCY Presidency, continued the activities of "the forces with which we broke of ideologically at the 8th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia," it was stated at the meeting.

At the 8th session held in late September last year, then Serbian Presidency President Ivan Stambolic, Belgrade party leader Dragisa Pavlovic and a few other prominent

Serbian politicians were practically removed from the scene, and the position of Serbian Party President Slobodan Milosevic was considerably strengthened.

LCY CC To Meet Before 'End of September'

LD0609204988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 6 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee (LCY CC) Presidency today discussed the implementation of the stands and conclusions of the LCY CC July session, and paid particular attention to the tasks concerning Kosovo and preparations for the next, 17th LCY CC session.

The Presidency also discussed LCY activities for overcoming the unfavourable political [word indistinct] economic and social situation in the country.

A decision was taken that the presidencies of central republican and provincial LCY committees and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army be informed of the LCY CC proposals for solving the situation in the country. The Presidency will later submit the final text of the proposals to the LCY Central Committee and publish them. The proposals include the urgent tasks and long-term obligations of Yugoslav Communists for initiating and leading organized social action in resolving complex economic and political questions and for promoting work and responsibility inside the LCY, especially in its leadership structures.

The Presidency took the decision to hold the 17th LCY CC session before the end of September, and the definite date will be fixed at the next LCY CC Presidency session.

Suvar Attends LCY CC Presidium Session

LD0609205088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium, at an extended session presided over by Stipe Suvar [President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium] considered the implementation of the stances and conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session, and especially the tasks relating to Kosovo in the light of the current political events in the LC and in society, as well as the preparations for the next, 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. At the session attention was drawn to the importance of the consistent and comprehensive carrying out, by all the LC organs and organizations, of the tasks which the LCY Central Committee set out at the 16th session. [passage omitted]

Smederevo Protest Rally Attended by 40,000

AU0309151288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Some 40,000 people of Smederevo, Smederevska Palanka, and other neighboring places attended a big solidarity meeting that began at 1600 in Smederevo. The meeting was opened by Ratko Licina, president of the Communal Conference of the SAWP of Smederevo. He called the citizens to a minute's silence to pay tribute to the Paracin people who were killed in the traffic accident near Jablanica.

Authorities Assess Rally

AU0409071988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Immediately after the conclusion of the solidarity meeting, the Presidium of the SAWP Communal Conference and the Trade Union Council of Smederevo met to assess the gathering with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. It was a unanimous assessment that the meeting passed in a peaceful and dignified way.

Not a single case of excesses was registered, because the Smederevo people cordially welcomed the people from Kosovo.

The Serbs and Montenegrins were welcomed at Mala Krsna. Bread and salt was offered to the Kosovo people at this railroad junction, and together with their hosts, they went to the meeting place.

Ten Thousand Serbs Protest Near Titova Mitrovica

AU0609175888 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] At about 1700, approximately 10,000 citizens gathered in the center of Zvecan, near Titova Mitrovica, for a protest rally organized by the local SAWP conference Presidium and other local sociopolitical organizations in order to express their solidarity with all those who are demanding a faster solution to the Kosovo drama. The meeting was opened by Veselin Urtekovic president of the Presidium of the local SAWP conference, who drew attention to the injustice done to the Serbian and Montenegrin people and to the hostile activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. At the rally, the shouts of several thousand citizens were heard: We want a single constitution; a single Serbia; give us freedom. It is expected that representatives of basic LC organizations, the Veterans Association, and the Youth Organization will also speak at the rally.

Leaders Termed Ineffective

LD0709010588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, September 6 (TANJUG)—About 10,000 citizens of Zvecan, a mining-industrial town in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, this evening expressed their dissatisfaction with the slow solving of the problems in this Yugoslav province at a meeting in the town center.

The meeting, which was organized by local socio-political organizations, unreservedly supported the efforts of the party leaderships of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia (within which Kosovo has autonomy) to stop aggressive attacks by Albanian chauvinists and separatists on the integrity and property of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Pointing out the inefficacy of the provincial organs of authority and judicial organs in the struggle against the ever stronger pressure from Albanian separatists whose ultimate goal is the secession of the province from Yugoslavia and its joining to neighbouring Albania, one of the speakers asked the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to name those who are in league with Albanian separatists in the province at its next, 17th session.

Protest Meeting Takes Place in Kosovo Village

AU0309205288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] About 500 citizens attended a protest meeting in the village of Ostojane in the Istok commune in Kosovo this evening, because of the more and more frequent assaults by Albanian separatists. Attempts of rapes, damage to crops, illegal sales of Serbian property, and other aspects of pressure cause an intolerable situation in this part of Metohija.

From a rostrum in the village schoolyard, numerous cases of violations of the integrity and property of Serbs and Montenegrins were voiced. Not a single house has been constructed in the last 10 years. There are more and more of those who think of emigrating, and more than 20 houses have been abandoned.

Demands for a replacement of bureaucrats in the leadership were enthusiastically cheered. It was said that these bureaucrats have brought Kosovo to the brink of civil war.

The meeting was attended by Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. The meeting expressed full support to the forthcoming constitutional changes and the strivings of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia to solve the problems in Kosovo.

More Kumanovo Demonstrators Sentenced

LD0409010188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Summary] Kumanovo, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—The Kumanovo Municipal Magistrate's Court has sentenced seven more people to terms of imprisonment for participating in hostile demonstrations. Two of the demonstrators received 60 days in prison and fines of 5000 dinars each for insulting and belittling the patriotic feelings of citizens, belittling the sociopolitical system of the SFRY, and inciting national intolerance. Another five demonstrators each received 60 days in prison for serious disturbance of the public order and peace.

Up to now, the Kumanovo Municipal Magistrate's Court has punished 15 Albanian demonstrators who took part in the hostile demonstrations in Kumanovo on 29 August.

Pristina LC Leadership on Solidarity Meetings

LD0609225688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, September 6 (TANJUG)—Protest rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins are an expression of dissatisfaction over the continuing activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists who brutally attack the Serbian and Montenegrin populations in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, it was stressed today at a session of the presidency of the communal committee of the League of Communists of Pristina, capital of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

President of the League of Communists of Pristina Presidency Husamedin Azemi said the attacks by Albanian people and Yugoslavia. He added that such misdeeds should be condemned by all and that the leaderships should also attend the rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins protesting these attacks.

The leadership of the Pristina party organization adopted the conclusion that concrete responsibility for not solving the problem of Kosovo should be established among individuals and organs.

Presidency member Ismet Muljeci said, however, that the protest rallies were unacceptable and urged the consistent implementation of the conclusions of the recently held 16th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee session which assessed the rallies as damaging.

In an allusion to Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic, Muljeci said that the fact that certain leaders were invoking the people was reminiscent of the situation in Croatia in 1971 when nationalistic hysteria broke out stoked by the Croatian leadership.

Similar opinions of the mass gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins and the Serbian party leader have recently been voiced in other parts of Yugoslavia as well, and have been decisively rejected in Serbia.

However, Pristina's party leader Husamedin Azemi and other members of the Pristina commune party leadership distanced themselves from Muljeci's assessment at today's session.

The stands of the leadership of Kosovo's largest party organization differ also from the conclusions of the provincial party committee which also condemned the rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins, but whose opinion is closer to the stands of the leadership of Serbia.

The discussions on the character of these protests are obviously entering a new phase. After numerous initial negative assessments of the mass protests of Serbs and Montenegrins, it seems that different views of these manifestations are now surfacing.

Jajce Solidarity Meeting Postponed

LD0609184788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—We accept your request for the postponement of the solidarity meeting in Jajce, scheduled for 10 September, reads the telegram of the committee for the organization of protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which was sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium and the Presidium of the LC Municipal Committee in Jajce. A telegram with the same message was also sent to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

We decided on this after your public statement that you would advocate as strongly as possible, in all forums at federal level, the urgent solution of the Kosovo drama, and the implementation of the proposed constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia so that it might be constituted like all the other republics in our country, says the telegram which was sent on behalf of the committee by its chairman, Mico Sparavalo.

We expect that at its first session the LCY Central Committee Presidium will take all the necessary measures to smash the counterrevolutionary forces of the Albanian nationalist and separatist movement, and thus the need to hold any meeting will cease, as will the existence of our committee.

Unless this happens, we will be forced to continue to hold meetings throughout the country, and in Jajce as well, this message says.

Osijek City Transport Workers Strike

LD0309141388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Summary] Osijek, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Trams and buses have not been running since this morning in Osijek because of a strike by workers of the Auto-Tramvaj town transport work organization. The workers are seeking wage increases of between 50-100 percent and price increases for town transport of about 75 percent.

Over 100 Ivangrad Workers Continue Strike

LD0309142188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0722 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Summary] Ivangrad, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Over 100 of the 560 workers who stopped work yesterday at Agropolimlje in Ivangrad, continued their work stoppage today. This is particularly serious as they form the most vital part of the work organization—bakers and dairy workers. This is the second work stoppage in Ivangrad in the past 10 days because of low wages.

Velika Kladusa Workers Strike 3 Sep

LD0309142988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Summary] Velika Kladusa, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Over 100 employees at an associated labor unit producing construction materials—part of the Grupeks work organization in Velika Kladusa—have stopped work. Their wages for June were reduced by 20 percent because the unit was losing money. The workers are demanding that all Grupeks employees should receive a personal income of 195,000 dinars until all the work organisation's collectives are operating at a profit.

Transport Strike in Osijek Ends

LD0409141488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Summary] Osijek, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The strike that started Saturday at the Autotramvaj transport organization in Osijek ended today and public transport is back to normal.

Mostar Teachers To Continue Strike

LD0609182288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Summary] The strike by about 600 teachers affecting about 14,500 schoolchildren in 16 primary schools in Mostar will continue tomorrow as well. The teachers are dissatisfied with a 50 percent pay rise that has been offered.

Rijake Tehnical School Workers Stop Work

LD0609193488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Summary] Rijeka, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Workers at the Rijeka center for the vocational training of electrotechnical cadres stopped work today as a warning to the relevant institutions and organizations that nothing has been done as yet to meet trade union demands of last May calling for equality in personal incomes of educational workers with workers in the economy with the same qualifications, and for education to be treated as a production force in society. Today's workers' meeting decided that the strike would last only one day but warned of further action if there are no results by 30 September.

Correction to Sarajevo TV on Rallies

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Sarajevo TV Comments on Rallies, Hunger" published in the 2 September East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 38: column two: sourceline should read Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 88 p 2 (changing source to OSLOBODJENJE)